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ABSTRACT

Although the attacks of September 11, 2001, present new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy, it is uncertain what direction international relations will take. China's growth and power, Russia's political and economic problems, resentment and corruption in Russia, and global warming effect policymaking. While the war on terrorism may be a long-term effort, the outlines of a sharply focused foreign policy have yet to emerge. This unit draws students into the promise and uncertainty of this era. The unit focuses on a framework of choices for U.S. foreign policy. These choices, or futures, reflect four fundamentally different ways of looking at the world. By exploring four clearly defined alternatives and the beliefs underlying them, students are better able to organize their own civic values and ideas on U.S. foreign policy. The Teacher Resource Book contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with students assessing six contrasting perspectives on international relations. The lesson plan's second and third days involve students in a simulation in which they act as advocates of the four futures or take on the role of members of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. On the fourth day, students apply the philosophies and assumptions of the Futures to current issues. On the fifth day, students conclude by developing policy recommendations based on their own values and beliefs. Teachers may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful. In the student text, students reflect on global changes, assess national priorities, and decide for themselves the future direction of U.S. policy. It offers an insight into the forces that are expected to shape international relations in the 21st century. The first section provides an overview of the current international system; the second section focuses on the role of economics in shaping international relations; the third section proposes predictions on the impact of science and

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technology on the 21st century; and the fourth section concludes with a survey of the leading items on the international agenda. Lists nine supplementary resources, including Web site addresses. (BT)

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Sarah Cleveland Fox

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The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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CHOICES
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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
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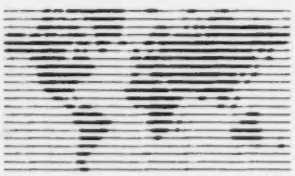

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

With the end of the Cold War, our country's foreign policy outlook is no longer clearly defined. Although the attacks of September 11th, 2001 present new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy, it is uncertain what direction international relations will take. China's growing might, resentment and corruption in Russia, and even global warming are also on policymakers' radar screens. While the war on terrorism will likely be a long-term effort, the outlines of a sharply focused foreign policy have yet to emerge.

The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role draws students into the promise and uncertainty of this era. At the core of the unit is a framework of choices for U.S. foreign policy. These choices, or Futures as they are called in this unit, reflect four fundamentally different ways of looking at the world. They should be thought of as a vehicle for guiding students through the process involved in thoughtfully considering our country's role in a changing world. By first exploring four clearly defined alternatives and the beliefs underlying them, students will be better able to organize their own civic values and ideas on U.S. foreign policy.

The sequence of lessons in *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* is designed to give students the tools to enable them to articulate their views. They will begin by thinking about the development of the international system in the twenty-first century, then ponder the four Futures as possible directions for U.S. foreign policy, and ultimately craft a fifth Future. As an introductory activity to open the semester or as a culminating exercise at the end of a course, *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* aims to broaden student thinking.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with students assessing six contrasting perspectives on international relations. (An optional lesson is included on key turning points in the history of U.S. foreign policy.) The second and third days of the lesson plan involve students in a simulation in which they act as advocates of the four Futures or take on the role of members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. On the fourth day, students apply the philosophies and assumptions of the Futures to current issues. Finally, students conclude the unit by developing coherent policy recommendations based on their own values and beliefs. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for tackling analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-31 before they begin their assignment. An "Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB 32-33. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

The lesson plan offered in *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* is a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. For example, you may consider introducing the unit with a brief discussion prior to Day One. You may also consider using *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* twice during a course — once at the beginning and again at the conclusion — in order to help students reflect on changes in their thinking over time. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role offers a great number of connections to the social studies curriculum. Whether the course is U.S. history, world history, government, or a survey of contemporary affairs, use of *The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role* opens the door to the exploration of a wide variety of complementary issues. Below are a few ideas about topics for further consideration.

What are our most important civic values? Our belief in freedom, justice, and democracy? Our pragmatism? Our visionary idealism and belief in equal rights? Our self-reliance and competitiveness? Our attachment to individualism and the free market?

Are Americans special? What makes the United States unique? Do the special qualities of the United States give it the right or the responsibility to dominate international affairs and safeguard international norms? Does our enormous economic and military power compel us to accept the status of superpower?

What should be our relationship with the international community? Will the power of the UN, the World Trade Organization, and other international bodies grow as the world continues to shrink? Should the United States refrain from taking action abroad without the support of other countries?

When is the use of force justified? Which interests and values should be defended by military means? What lessons should we learn from our involvement in Latin America, and our alliances in World War II, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, and the war against Yugoslavia?

Where is the world headed in the next century? Will democratic ideals spread throughout the world, or will countries turn to dictators in times of trouble? Will war become obsolete, or will the proliferation of sophisticated weapons increase conflict? Will increasing interdependence undercut the importance of the nation-state and lead to world government, or will nations become more protective of their sovereignty? Will the growth of international terrorism fundamentally alter the way we think about the world, or will our outlook remain basically the same? Finally, what additional problems might Americans have to face in this century? How will our role in the world be different?

How does the world work? Do international affairs revolve around a contest between good and evil, in which our foreign policy decisions should be seen as moral choices? Do we live in a world of relentless competition, in which we cannot afford to fall behind other leading powers? Is the world essentially interdependent, in that we will all sink or swim together?

Is world peace attainable? Will the expansion of international trade and the advancement of communication technologies reduce the risk of war? Will the nations of the developing world in the twenty-first century repeat the carnage suffered by the developed world in the twentieth century

Are Western values universal? Do people around the world want the same freedoms and democratic system that we have? Will our free-market economic system and consumer-oriented society eventually prevail throughout the globe? Which cultures present the strongest opposition to the values of the West?

Rethinking International Relations

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the forces that are likely to shape international relations in the twenty-first century.
- Identify the values and assumptions integral to the debate about the evolution of the international system.
- Clarify their own views on the future of international relations.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read the background reading, Introduction and Part I in the student text (pages 1-13) and completed "Study Guide" (TRB 4-6) or "Advanced Study Guide (TRB-7).

Handouts:

"Rethinking International Relations: Six Perspectives" (TRB 8-10)

In the Classroom:

1. Rethinking the Twentieth Century — Based on the background reading, ask students to identify the most important political and economic forces shaping international relations in the twentieth century. Which forces were unique to the twentieth century? Which forces remain most significant today? A century from now, what will historians see as the most significant developments of the twentieth century?

2. Surveying Six Perspectives — Distribute "Rethinking International Relations: Six Perspectives" to each student and review the introduction with the class. Note that the six selections have largely defined the parameters of the public discourse on the evolution of the international system. Read each selection and invite students to answer the three questions in the introduction.

3. Identifying Values and Assumptions — Emphasize that each author brings a distinct set of values and assumptions to the subject of international relations. For example, ask students to compare Friedman's view of globalization to that of Hoffman. How do Nye and Rice differ in their outlook on America's international position? Explain also that each author has a unique vision of the world awaiting us at the halfway point of the twenty-first century. For example, what forces do Huntington and Kaplan imagine will have the greatest impact in the coming decades?

4. Clarifying Opinions — Call on students to identify the arguments in the six selections they found most convincing. Which of the six worldviews most closely matches their own? Which forces do they foresee as having the most influence on the direction of the international system in the twenty-first century?

Suggestion:

Divide students into groups, one for each reading. After students have discussed the questions in small groups, work with the whole class to create a matrix or chart on the board which summarizes the positions of each author and explains the values and foreign policy suggestions of each reading.

Homework:

Students should read "Futures in Brief" in the student text (page 19).

Day 1

Name: _____

Study Guide
The International System in the 21st Century

1. Much of the world is increasingly connected by a web of _____, _____, and common political _____ . At the same time, billions of people continue to live in grinding _____ and are ruled by _____ governments.

2. The two superpowers that dominated the Cold War era were the _____ _____ and the _____ _____ .

3. America's domination of the international arena is based on our country's _____ _____, and _____ strength.

4. Complete the statements for each of the three idealogies listed below.

Ideology	*According to this ideology, the the role of government should be:*	*Two countries in which this ideology was adopted are:*
Fascism		
Communism		
Liberal Democracy		

5. The main reasons for the failure of fascism and communism were:

   Fascism:

   Communism:

6. The only political ideology that can today claim a global reach is _____ _____.

7. Explain how both local and international forces threaten the authority of states.

   Local forces:

   International forces:

8.. Which of the following events contributed the most to economic globalization?

a. Russia's economic reforms in the 1990s.
b. The rapid development of the computer industry in India and China.
c. The lowering of barriers to trade and investment worldwide.
d. The boom in the U.S. stock market.

Explain your reasoning:

9. Two criticisms of the IMF are:

a.

b.

10. For each of the following items, indicate whether they are typical products of the knowledge economy (mark "K") or the industrial economy (mark "I").

___ Computer game	___ Feature-length movie	___ Color television
___ DVD player	___ Web site	___ Financial advice
___ Cellular telephone	___ Laptop computer	___ Allergy medicine

11. In recent decades, the most economically successful developing countries have based their growth on _____ .

12. Technology has widened the gap between rich and poor countries because:
a. Wealthy countries have refused to export high-tech equipment to the developing world.
b. Without high-tech industries, many poor countries do not benefit from international trade and investment.
c. Since the end of the Cold War, governments in poor countries have played a larger role in their local economies.
d. During the 1990s, developed nations experienced higher economic growth rates than the developing world.

Explain your reasoning:

13. A likely impact of the computer revolution on the U.S. military is:

14. Two ways in which biotechnology may change human reproduction are:

a.

b.

15. During the twentieth century, _____ was the most important energy source. Alternatives to fossil fuels, such as _____ and _____ power, are already producing electricity on a small scale.

16. Global warming serves as a good example of a global problem because:
    a. A special United Nations body was formed to address the issue.
    b. The problem affects the entire planet.
    c. The root of the problem is connected to overpopulation.
    d. World leaders agree that global warming will be the most critical issue of the twenty-first century.

    Explain your reasoning:

17. In addition to global warming, four other global problems are:
    a.

    b.

    c.

    d.

18. The end of the Cold War has strengthened the _____ _____. As a result, the international community has taken a larger role in protecting _____ _____ standards.

19. Compare the position of the United States and its allies with the position of China and Russia regarding the war against Yugoslavia.

    U.S. and allies:

    China and Russia:

20. Four challenges facing China's development in the coming decades are:
    a.

    b.

    c.

    d.

21. Which of the following statements best reflects the attitudes of the Russian public toward economic reform?
    a. Maintaining our course toward the free market will eventually pay off for the entire country.
    b. The communists have done everything possible to ensure the failure of economic reform.
    c. Although most Russians are better off since the end of communism, the condition of the poor is worse than ever.
    d. Economic reform has benefited only a few corrupt businessmen, while leaving most Russians poorer.

    Explain your reasoning:

Advanced Study Guide
The International System in the 21st Century

1. How did the attacks of September 11th, 2001 highlight the complexity of today's international relations?

2. Which ideologies presented the greatest challenge to liberal democracy in the twentieth century? Summarize the sources of their appeal and the reasons for their decline.

3. What are challenges facing the authority of states today?

4. What are the main forces behind economic globalization? How did they contribute to the East Asian financial crisis?

5. Why have economic globalization and the emergence of the knowledge economy widened the gap between the rich and the poor?

6. In your opinion, which area of science and technology is likely to produce the most significant changes in international relations in the twenty-first century? Explain your reasoning.

7. Why has the international community moved slowly in addressing the threat of global warming?

8. In your opinion, how will developments in China and Russia affect the future of international relations?

Rethinking International Relations: Five Perspectives

Introduction: As you learned in the background reading, Americans are rethinking our role in international relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the growth of globalization, and the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 changed many of our fundamental assumptions about the way the world works and sparked far-reaching debate. Below, you will read selections from articles and books that have been particularly influential in shaping the discussion.

The six selections presented are intended to present a range of opinions about the direction of the international system and the U.S. role in the world. As you read each of them, consider the following questions.

1. According to the author, what are the most important forces shaping the twenty-first century?
2. According to the author, how is the international system of the twenty-first century different from that of the twentieth century?
3. According to the author, what are the main foreign policy challenges facing the United States in the twenty-first century?

After you have read the selections and discussed them with classmates, you will be asked to develop your own ideas about the direction of the international system. Use the questions above to organize your thoughts.

Selection 1

"The Clash of Civilizations?"
by Samuel P. Huntington, in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer, 1993

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

A civilization is...defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people.

Civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another.

Selection 2

The Lexus and the Olive Tree
by Thomas Friedman, 1999

The globalization system, unlike the Cold War system, is not static, but a dynamic ongoing process: globalization involves the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system.... Culturally speaking, globalization is largely, though not entirely, the spread of Americanization—from Big Macs to iMacs to Mickey Mouse—on a global scale....

...The Lexus and the olive tree [are] actually pretty good symbols of this post-Cold War era: half the world seems to be emerging from the Cold War intent on building a better Lexus, dedicated to modernizing, streamlining, and privatizing their economies in order to thrive in the system of globalization. And half the world—sometimes half the same country, sometimes half the same person—[is] still caught up in the fight over who owns which olive tree....

The challenge in this era of globalization—for countries and individuals—is to find a healthy balance between preserving a sense of identity, home and community and doing what it takes to survive within the globalization system.

Selection 3

"Promoting the National Interest"
Condoleezza Rice, in *Foreign Affairs*, January, 2000

The process of outlining a new foreign policy must begin by recognizing that the United States is in a remarkable position.... The United States and its allies are on the right side of history.

Power matters, both the exercise of power by the United States and the ability of others to exercise it. Yet many in the United States are (and always have been) uncomfortable with the notions of power politics, great politics, and power balances. In an extreme form, this discomfort leads to a reflective appeal instead to notions of international law and norms, and the belief that the support of many states—or even better, of institutions like the United Nations—is essential to the legitimate exercise of power. The "national interest" is replaced with "humanitarian interests" or the interests of "the international community." The belief that the United States is exercising power legitimately only when it is doing so on behalf of someone or something else was deeply rooted in Wilsonian thought.... To be sure, there is nothing wrong with doing something that benefits all humanity, but that is, in a sense, a second-order effect. America's pursuit of the national interest will create conditions that promote freedom, markets, and peace.

...[It is not] isolationist to suggest that the United States has a special role in the world and should not adhere to every international convention and agreement that someone thinks to propose.

Some worry that this view of the world ignores the role of values, particularly human rights and the promotion of democracy. [However,] American values are universal. People want to say what they think, worship as they wish, and elect those who govern them; the triumph of these values is most assuredly easier when the international balance of power favors those who believe in them.

Selection 4

Warrior Politics
by Robert Kaplan, 2002

The evils of the twentieth century arose from populist movements that were monstrously exploited in the name of utopian ideals, and had their power amplified by new technologies....

...The evils of the twenty-first century may also arise from populist movements, taking advantage of democratization, motivated this time by religious and sectarian beliefs, and empowered by a post-Industrial Revolution: particularly information technology....

So far I have mentioned only driving forces: trends that are already visible (the expansion of populations, cities, capitalism, technology, income divides, and so on). But there will also be sideswipes: developments that come at us by surprise, as AIDS did in the 1980s. Natural disasters like floods and earthquakes, which destabilize fragile political systems, may be one such sideswipe: the cloning of human beings who are genetically engineered for military purposes by a rising power such as China may be another. Then there is global warming, which could turn out to be both a driving force and a sideswipe, by precipitating both natural disasters and extremist political reactions to them....

It takes a shallow grasp of history to believe that solutions exist to most international problems. Often there are no solutions, only confusion and unsatisfactory choices.

Selection 5

"The Clash of Globalizations"
by Stanley Hoffman, in *Foreign Affairs*, July 2002

...Many scholars today interpret the world in terms of a triumphant globalization that submerges boarders through new means of information and communication. In this universe, a state choosing to stay closed invariably faces decline and growing discontent among its subjects, who are eager for material progress. But if it opens up, it must accept a reduced role that is mainly limited to social protection, physical protection against aggression or civil war, and maintaining national identity. The champion of this epic without heroes is The New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman....

...The real universe of globalization does not resemble the one that Friedman celebrates....

Globalization, far from spreading peace, ...seems to foster conflicts and resentments. The lowering of various barriers celebrated by Friedman, especially the spread of global media, makes it possible for the most deprived or oppressed to compare their fate with that of the free and well-off. These dispossessed then ask for help from others with common resentments, ethnic origin, or religious faith. Insofar as globalization enriches some and uproots many, those who are both poor and uprooted may seek revenge and self-esteem in terrorism.

Selection 6

The Paradox of American Power
by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 2002

The United States is undoubtedly the world's number one power, but how long can this situation last, and what should we do with it?...

Pax Americana is likely to last not only because of unmatched American hard power [wealth, military might, the ability to command] but also to the extent that the United States "is uniquely capable of engaging in 'strategic restraint,' reassuring partners and facilitating cooperation. The open and pluralistic way in which our foreign policy is made can often reduce surprises, allow others to have a voice, and contribute to our soft power [inspiration, influence, the ability to attract]. Moreover, the impact of American preponderance is softened when it is embodied in a web of multilateral institutions that allow others to participate in decisions and that act as a sort of world constitution to limit the capriciousness of American power. That was the lesson we learned as we struggled to create and antiterrorist coalition in the wake of the September 2001 attacks. When the society and culture of the hegemon are attractive, the sense of threat and need to balance it are reduced. Whether other countries will unite to balance American power will depend on how the United States behaves as well as the power resources of potential challenges.

...Failure to pay proper respect to the opinion of others and to incorporate a broad conception of justice into our national interest will eventually come to hurt us...

...American power is not equally great in the economic and transnational dimensions. Not only are there new actors to consider, but many of the transnational issues—whether financial flows, the spread of AIDS, or terrorism—cannot be resolved without the cooperation of others. Where collective action is a necessary part of obtaining the outcomes we want, our power is by definition limited and the United States is bound to share.

Optional Lesson: Turning Points in U.S. Foreign Policy

Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify the conflicting values that shaped the debate over U.S. foreign policy during critical junctures in U.S. history.
- Analyze how the values of past eras influenced views on U.S. foreign policy.
- Compare the concerns that dominated the U.S. foreign policy agenda in the past with those of today.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read "Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy" in the student text (pages 14-18) and completed one of the accompanying study guides (TRB 13-15).

In the Classroom:

1. Recalling 1947 — Call on students to focus their attention on 1947, the year when Secretary of State George Marshall first proposed that the United States should provide billions of dollars in aid to Europe. Ask students to identify the leading threats that faced the United States at the time. What lessons from history were uppermost in the minds of Americans? What hopes did Americans hold for the future of the world? Which civic values were most important at that time? Record student responses on the board.

2. Analyzing Viewpoints — Ask students to consider how the threats, hopes, and values of 1947 influenced U.S. foreign policy. For example, what kind of foreign policy would derive from a fear of Soviet expansion? How would a supporter of global cooperation have shaped the U.S. role in the world?

3. Considering Alternatives — Call on students to suggest three or four well-defined policy options for the United States in 1947. Emphasize that each option should respond to a distinct set of threats, hopes, and values. After students have brainstormed a set of options for 1947, ask them to consider the options available to the United States at the turn of the century and after World War I. How did the debate about U.S. foreign policy during those earlier periods differ from the discussion following World War II?

4. Turning Points on the Horizon — Emphasize that the three turning points examined in the optional reading were each marked by a decisive policy debate. Invite students to voice their opinions about the direction of current U.S. foreign policy. How would they describe America's role in the world? What are the guiding principles underlying U.S. foreign policy? Have we entered a new epoch or are we still living in the "post-Cold War" era? Call on students to look into the future of the international system. What issues on the horizon have the potential to redirect the course of U.S. foreign policy? What do the turning points of the past tell us about critical junctures that may lay ahead?

Suggestion:

Have students work in small groups on each time period, developing charts which demonstrate how each option grew out of a group of threats, hopes, and values.

Study Guide
Optional Reading: Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy

1. The Cold War represented a turning point in U.S. foreign policy because:
   a. The focus of U.S. foreign policy had generally been on Latin America.
   b. America had cooperated closely with Britain until the Cold War.
   c. The United States had never placed trade issues at the top of its foreign policy agenda.
   d. The United States had never taken a leading role in international affairs during peacetime.

   Explain your reasoning:

2. Three reasons the United States became involved in the Cuban struggle for independence were:
   a.
   b.
   c.

3. Summarize the main arguments of the supporters and opponents of imperialism after the Spanish-American War.
   Pro-imperialism:

   Anti-imperialism:

4. After the Spanish-American War, U.S. troops fought in the _____ to defeat local _____ and oversaw the economic and foreign policies of _____ .

5. Three important elements of President Wilson's peace plan to end World War I were:
   a.
   b.
   c.

6. Two reasons that the Senate rejected U.S. membership in the League of Nations were:
   a.
   b.

7. Which of the following statements best reflects American attitudes toward international affairs during the 1920s and 1930s?

   a. Maintaining the health of the international economic system will protect peace.
   b. America should stay as far away as possible from the turmoil in Europe.
   c. The United States must strengthen its military to protect our country from threats overseas.
   d. Britain, France, and our other democratic allies are strong enough to maintain international stability.

   Explain your reasoning:

8. At the end of World War II, the two most powerful countries in the world were the _____ _____ and the _____ _____ .

9. Explain how the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were designed to contain the spread of Soviet communism.

   Truman Doctrine:

   Marshall Plan:

10. Two arguments against Truman's policies were:

    a.

    b.

11. Which of the following statements best reflects U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union by 1949?

    a. While recognizing the differences between our countries, the United States should look for opportunities to cooperate with the Soviets in maintaining world peace.
    b. The United States must be willing to go to war to free the nations of Eastern Europe from Soviet domination.
    c. We should expect Britain and France to take the lead in resisting Soviet ambitions in Europe.
    d. The United States must maintain a strong presence in Europe to stop the spread of communism.

    Explain your reasoning:

Advanced Study Guide

Optional Reading: Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy

1. Why did U.S. interest in the Caribbean region grow during the late 1800s?

2. Why is the period after the Spanish-American War considered a critical turning point in U.S. foreign policy?

3. Why did the debate about the U.S. role in the world in 1919-20 focus on the question of U.S. membership in the League of Nations?

4. How would U.S. foreign policy in the 1920s have been different if Woodrow Wilson's viewpoint had been adopted?

5. Why did many Americans believe that the United States could not withdraw from international affairs after World War II?

6. In what respects did U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War represent a sharp break from the past?

The Futures before the U.S. Senate: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on the U.S. role in the world.
- Identify the core underlying values of the Futures.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the Futures and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Future" (TRB-17) for Future groups
- "Expressing Key Values" (TRB-18) for Future groups
- "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" (TRB-19) for committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Two. During the class period of Day Two, students will be preparing for the Day Three simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading, particularly lessons from history, into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Future Groups — Form four groups of four students. Assign a Future to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Future" and "Expressing Key Values" to the four Future groups. Inform students that each Future group will be called upon in Day Three to present the case for its assigned Future to members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Explain that Future groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Future." Note that the Future groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Committee Members — The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" to each committee member. While the Future groups are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop cross-examination questions for Day Three. (See "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.") Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the committee. In larger classes, additional roles — such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist — may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the Future groups to design a campaign poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their Futures.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Future

Preparing Your Presentation

Your assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your Future should serve as the basis for our country's foreign policy. You will be judged on how well you present your Future.

Organizing your group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role:

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the Future of your group to the Committee on Foreign Relations in a three-to-five minute presentation. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your Future and review "The International System in the 21st Century" to build a strong case for your Future. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *Foreign Policy Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on how your Future will address overall U.S foreign policy concerns. Concentrate your efforts on explaining your Future's response to the leading threats and problems facing the United States. Base your arguments on current events wherever possible. You should also review "The International System in the 21st Century" to build a strong case for your Future. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Military Expert:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on the military policies of your Future. Pay special attention to the second paragraph of the "What do we have to do?" section of your Future. Review "The International System in the 21st Century" to build a strong case for your Future. You should also consider recent events, especially the lessons of the Persian Gulf War, the war in Afghanistan, and international peacekeeping missions, in developing your arguments. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Economics Expert:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on the economic policies of your Future. Pay special attention to the third paragraph of the "What do we have to do?" section of your Future. Review "The International System in the 21st Century" to build a strong case for your Future. You should also consider recent events, especially the issue of economic aid, the use of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Iran, and economic conditions in the United States. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations of the other groups, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing Futures. After all of the groups have presented their Futures, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Name:

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the four Futures in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your Future are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. For most of our country's existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about foreign policy. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your Future. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your Future?

   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your Future, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. Why should the values of your Future serve as the basis for our country's foreign policy?

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate
Hearing on U.S. Foreign Policy

Your Role

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to our country's foreign policy. In the past few years, many of our long-standing assumptions about the world have changed. U.S. foreign policy must keep up with the changes that have taken place. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct positions on our country's role in the world.

Your Assignment

While the Future groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the Futures.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Future 1 might be:

> *Wouldn't Future 1 put us in conflict with some of our most important economic and military allies, such as Saudi Arabia?*

Examine the "Critics say" section under each of the four Futures for ideas in developing questions. You should also review "Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy" to analyze the Futures from a historical perspective. Your teacher will collect the questions at the end of the hearings.

On Day Three, the four Future groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the Future groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the Future groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After the hearings are concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the Future groups.

The Futures before the U.S. Senate: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. foreign policy.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. foreign policy.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (TRB-21) for committee members

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage* — Organize the room so that the four Future groups face a row of desks reserved for the Committee on Foreign Relations. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. *Managing the Simulation* — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the Future groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. *Guiding Discussion* — Following the presentations, invite members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four Future groups. If time permits, encourage members of the Future groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any Future group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each Future.)

Homework:

Students should read each of the four Futures in the student text (pages 20-27) and complete "The Futures in Perspective" (TRB-23).

Evaluation Form
Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this Future?

Future 1

Future 2

Future 3

Future 4

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this Future?

Future 1

Future 2

Future 3

Future 4

Part II

Which group presented its Future most effectively? Explain your answer.

Discussing the Futures

Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify the most appealing arguments and values of the Futures.
- Deepen their understanding of the underlying values and potential consequences of each of the Futures.
- Apply the values and principles of the Futures to hypothetical international issues.

Required Reading:

Students should have read each of the four Futures in the student text (pages 20-27) and completed "The Futures in Perspective" (TRB-23).

In the Classroom:

1. Sharing Assessments — Call on members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to share their evaluations of the Future groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? Which lessons from history were most relevant to the debate?

2. Deepening Understanding — Review student responses to "The Futures in Perspective." Make sure that students understand the key philosophical distinctions among the Futures. Which Futures advocate an activist role in world affairs? Which Futures favor less involvement? Which Futures are most protective of national sovereignty? Which Futures are supportive of a more multinational approach? How do the Futures balance idealism and pragmatism? Ask students to assess the implications of recent events from the perspective of the Futures. For example, which Futures would draw validation from the U.S. experience in the Persian Gulf? How would each Future interpret recent developments in the Balkans, the evolution of our country's relations with China or Russia, or the U.S. role in the Mexican economy?

3. Applying the Futures — Call on students to respond to a hypothetical event through the perspective of the Futures. For example, what would the Futures recommend for U.S. policy if a new conflict were to erupt in the Balkans or if additional terrorist attacks took place on American soil? How does each Future view U.S. relations with Russia or China? How should the United States respond to evidence that North Korea is pressing ahead with the development of nuclear weapons?

Homework:

Students should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB 26-27), and complete "Your Future Five" (TRB- 28). As an extra challenge, instruct students to incorporate their responses to "Your Future Five" into prepared remarks intended for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Futures in Perspective

Instructions: Fill in the blank boxes with answers appropriate to the Futures.

	Future 1	*Future 2*	*Future 3*	*Future 4*
What is the greatest threat facing the United States beyond its borders?	Aggressive undemocratic regimes present the greatest threat to the United States. Dictators not only terrorize their own people but strive to expand their power at the expense of their neighbors by building up dangerous military machines.	International instability presents the greatest threat to the United States. In a world on the brink of chaos, sudden changes in the international order may upset the world's economy and plunge still more countries into conflict, even nuclear war.	Global crises, such as environmental problems, refugees, and AIDS, present the greatest threat to the United States. The growing interdependence of the planet means that U.S. problems cannot be separated from the problems affecting the world as a whole.	Overseas entanglements, which divert us from the problems we face at home, present the greatest threat to the United States. We cannot afford to pour money into foreign affairs at the expense of the prosperity, health, and education of our own citizens.
What should we learn from the evolution of the international system in the 20th century?	American leadership is essential to advancing the principles of democracy, human rights, and tolerance worldwide.		The international community is moving gradually toward a common consensus. More than ever, nations recognize the need to cooperate on addressing vital global issues.	
What principles should guide our policy toward developing countries with respect to trade and economic aid?		We should give trade benefits and aid to countries that are willing to serve U.S. foreign policy interests.		We should end foreign aid, except for humanitarian emergencies, and pursue trade policies that protect American industries from unfair foreign competition.
What should be the U.S. role in the UN?	The United States should steer the UN toward taking a more active stance in promoting worldwide the American values of democracy, human rights, and tolerance for diversity.	The United States should use the UN as a tool to restrain the ambitions of Russia, China, Iraq, and other potentially dangerous powers, and to maintain international stability.		

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	Future 1	*Future 2*	*Future 3*	*Future 4*
What is the greatest threat facing the United States beyond its borders?	Aggressive undemocratic regimes present the greatest threat to the United States. Dictators not only terrorize their own people but strive to expand their power at the expense of their neighbors by building up dangerous military machines.	International instability presents the greatest threat to the United States. In a world on the brink of chaos, sudden changes in the international order may upset the world's economy and plunge still more countries into conflict, even nuclear war.	Global crises, such as environmental problems, refugees, and AIDS, present the greatest threat to the United States. The growing interdependence of the planet means that U.S. problems cannot be separated from the problems affecting the world as a whole.	Overseas entanglements, which divert us from the problems we face at home, present the greatest threat to the United States. We cannot afford to pour money into foreign affairs at the expense of the prosperity, health, and education of our own citizens.
What should we learn from the evolution of the international system in the 20th century?	American leadership is essential to advancing the principles of democracy, human rights, and tolerance worldwide.	International relations remains a ruthless contest for power. China, Russia, and most other leading nations should be seen as competitors and rivals, not partners.	The international community is moving gradually toward a common consensus. More than ever, nations recognize the need to cooperate on addressing vital global issues.	Despite our best efforts, poverty, tyranny, and conflict continues to plague much of the world. No amount of money or goodwill can remedy basic human failings.
What principles should guide our policy toward developing countries with respect to trade and economic aid?	We should use trade benefits and aid to encourage governments to adopt democratic principles and respect human rights.	We should give trade benefits and aid to countries that are willing to serve U.S. foreign policy interests.	We should give greater amounts of aid to international organizations to help improve conditions in poor countries and to address environmental problems.	We should end foreign aid, except for humanitarian emergencies, and pursue trade policies that protect American industries from unfair foreign competition.
What should be the U.S. role in the UN?	The United States should steer the UN toward taking a more active stance in promoting worldwide the American values of democracy, human rights, and tolerance for diversity.	The United States should use the UN as a tool to restrain the ambitions of Russia, China, Iraq, and other potentially dangerous powers, and to maintain international stability.	The United States should support efforts to strengthen the UN's ability to maintain international peace, address global problems, and improve economic conditions in the developing world.	The United States should withdraw its troops from UN peacekeeping operations and reduce its overall involvement in the UN.

The Futures and Beyond: Survey and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate individual policy recommendations based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.
- Identify the factors that shape classroom views regarding the U.S. role in the world.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four Futures and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB 26-27) and "Your Future Five" (TRB-28).

Handouts:

- "Classroom Survey: Policies and Trade-Offs" (TRB -29)

In the Classroom:

1. Articulating Beliefs — Review the beliefs section in "Focusing Your Thoughts," inviting students to defend the beliefs they find most appealing. Call on students to explain how their beliefs and values guided their responses to "Your Future Five."

2. Polling the Class — Distribute "Classroom Survey" and ask students to complete the survey individually. After students finish the assignment, call on them to indicate their responses with a show of hands. Tally student responses on the "Teacher's Recording Form."

3. Assessing the Classroom Response — Call on students to analyze the views of the classroom. Which events since the fall of the Berlin Wall have left the greatest impact on student attitudes? What lessons from history have been most important in shaping student opinions? Which values and beliefs stand out most prominently in the class' response to the survey. Finally, how would the responses of the class likely differ from a survey of Americans nationwide? What factors (e.g., age, region, class, ethnic or religious background, local economic conditions, etc.) would account for the differences?

Extra Challenge:

As homework, instruct students to write a letter based on their Future to the president, the editor of a local newspaper, or a member of Congress. Suggest that students analyze the results of the classroom survey and then explain the values and policy recommendations of their own Future Five. Encourage students to illustrate how their Future would address current problems and concerns.

Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the debate on U.S. foreign policy. For example, students could be asked to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in foreign policy issues. Groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, the American Legion, Amnesty International, the Chamber of Commerce, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the World Affairs Council have chapters throughout the country. Farm groups, ethnic organizations, and friendship societies are also active in the foreign policy arena.

Name:

Focusing Your Thoughts

Ranking the Futures

Which of the Futures below do you prefer? Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future for the United States to follow.

___ **Future 1: Standing Up for Democracy and Human Rights**

___ **Future 2: Charting a Stable Course**

___ **Future 3: Building a More Cooperative World**

___ **Future 4: Turning Inward**

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ In today's interconnected world, many serious problems can be addressed only through international cooperation.

___ We will always have to compete with the world's other nations for power.

___ The United States should not do business with countries that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.

___ The greatest threats facing our country, such as poverty, crime, and failing schools, are all at home.

___ We have no right to decide on our own to pressure another country to behave in a certain way.

___ Using our military power around the world creates more enemies than friends.

___ Trying to make deep changes in the way the world works is naive and dangerous.

___ As Americans, we have a responsibility to spread democracy around the world.

Policies to Consider

Rate each of the statements according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

Economic: The United States should...

___ Use economic sanctions and boycotts against countries with poor human rights records.

___ Pressure our trading partners to eliminate trade barriers against U.S. products.

___ Lead a major international effort to improve economic conditions in the developing world and the countries of the former Soviet bloc.

___ Cut back our country's involvement abroad to concentrate on problems in the United States.
___ Give trade benefits to poor countries that share our foreign policy and economic goals.
___ Focus our foreign aid on promoting democracy and respect for human rights.
___ Share our technology with other nations to cooperate on common problems, such as global warming.
___ Do business with all countries, regardless of the policies that their governments carry out at home.

Military: The United States should...

___ Defend countries that have oil or other raw materials vital to our economic prosperity.
___ Sharply cut our military spending to provide funding for domestic programs.
___ Defend democratic countries against aggressive neighbors.
___ Supply arms to our friends to keep our enemies in check.
___ Maintain our status as the world's only military superpower.
___ Organize a permanent military force under the UN to help maintain peace around the world.
___ Remove our troops from bases outside of North America.
___ Stop selling arms to developing nations.

Creating Your Own Future

Your next assignment is to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one Future, or you may combine ideas from two or three Futures. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft a Future that is logical and persuasive.

Be careful of contradictions. For example, we cannot cut our military spending in half and remain a global superpower at the same time. We cannot impose trade sanctions on countries that abuse human rights while maintaining all of our current military alliances. In addition, keep in mind that policies should logically follow beliefs. If you believe that the United States should closely cooperate with other countries, you would support an increase in U.S. funding for the UN and other international organizations.

Finally, you must consider the economic cost of your Future. Big projects are expensive. For example, a Future that calls for the United States to remain a military giant and at the same time dramatically reduce poverty around the world will be criticized for boosting government spending.

Your Future Five: _____ (your title)

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. foreign policy. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding values of your proposal.

1. What do you believe are the most important problems facing the United States?

2. What steps in the foreign policy arena should the United States take over the next ten years?

3. How would your Future impact the lives of Americans?

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your Future?

   a.

   b.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your Future?

   a.

   b.

Classroom Survey
Policies and Trade-Offs

Instructions: Your responses to the questions below should reflect the values of "Your Future Five."

Part I: *Circle what you think will be the three most urgent international challenges facing the United States over the next ten years.*

1. Aggressive nationalism will fuel conflict and instability in the developing world.
2. The gulf between rich and poor countries will widen, making it increasingly difficult to address common problems.
3. The arrival of more immigrants and refugees will burden our society.
4. U.S. jobs will be lost to foreign competition.
5. The United States will isolate itself from the international community.
6. More countries will develop nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.
7. Involvement overseas will drain the United States of its resources and energy.
8. The United States will lose access to oil and other key resources abroad.
9. Aggressive foreign policies by Russia or China will threaten international peace.
10. Pollution will do irreparable damage to the global environment.
11. The United States will have its hands tied by international organizations.
12. Economic downturns in other parts of the world will trigger a global depression.

Part II: *The following questions explore your priorities. They ask for what purpose, if any, you would support using military force or giving economic assistance. Check the most appropriate category in each case.*

1. Should the United States use military force (either independently or under UN sponsorship) for the following purposes?	*Usually/Always*	*Occasionally*	*Rarely/Never*
a. To defend democratic governments from attack.	___	___	___
b. To enforce UN resolutions.	___	___	___
c. To protect crucial U.S. interests overseas, such as access to oil.	___	___	___
d. To protect civilians from brutality at the hands of their governments.	___	___	___
e. To defend U.S. territory from attack.	___	___	___

2. Should the United States give economic aid and/or trade benefits to foreign countries for the following purposes?	*Usually/Always*	*Occasionally*	*Rarely/Never*
a. To improve alliances with important countries.	___	___	___
b. To help the poorest people in developing countries.	___	___	___
c. To reduce environmental damage in developing countries.	___	___	___
d. To build democratic institutions.	___	___	___

Teacher's Recording Form
Policies and Trade-Offs

Part I: *Circle what you think will be the three most urgent international challenges facing the United States over the next ten years.*

1. Aggressive nationalism will fuel conflict and instability in the developing world. _____
2. The gulf between rich and poor countries will widen, making it increasingly difficult to address common problems. _____
3. The arrival of more immigrants and refugees will burden our society. _____
4. U.S. jobs will be lost to foreign competition. _____
5. The United States will isolate itself from the international community. _____
6. More countries will develop nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. _____
7. Involvement overseas will drain the United States of its resources and energy. _____
8. The United States will lose access to oil and other key resources abroad. _____
9. Aggressive foreign policies by Russia or China will threaten international peace. _____
10. Pollution will do irreparable damage to the global environment. _____
11. The United States will have its hands tied by international organizations. _____
12. Economic downturns in other parts of the world will trigger a global depression. _____

Part II: *The following questions explore your priorities. They ask for what purpose, if any, you would support using military force or giving economic assistance. Check the most appropriate category in each case.*

1. Should the United States use military force (either independently or under UN sponsorship) for the following purposes?	*Usually/Always*	*Occasionally*	*Rarely/Never*
a. To defend democratic governments from attack.	____	____	____
b. To enforce UN resolutions.	____	____	____
c. To protect crucial U.S. interests overseas, such as access to oil.	____	____	____
d. To protect civilians from brutality at the hands of their governments.	____	____	____
e. To defend U.S. territory from attack.	____	____	____

2. Should the United States give economic aid and/or trade benefits to foreign countries for the following purposes?	*Usually/Always*	*Occasionally*	*Rarely/Never*
a. To improve alliances with important countries.	____	____	____
b. To help the poorest people in developing countries.	____	____	____
c. To reduce environmental damage in developing countries.	____	____	____
d. To build democratic institutions.	____	____	____

Key Terms

The International System in the 21st Century

NATO
communist
minority group
refugees
guerrillas
trade
liberal democracy
free-market
diplomacy
fascism
ideology
self-determination
foreign investment
tariffs
imports
exports
debt crisis
economic development
international community
industrial base
nuclear arsenal

Optional Reading: Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy

peacekeeping
imperialism
protectorate
neutrality
empire
iron curtain
economic assistance

Imperialism: The policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies.

At the end of the nineteenth century, supporters of imperialism by the United States used several different arguments to advocate their point of view. A school of thought led by naval Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan stressed the importance of naval power for the United States' physical and economic security. This meant that the United States would need to acquire and maintain naval bases around the globe.

Others drew from Darwinian theory and suggested that there was a struggle between nations and people in which only the fittest would survive. They believed that the Anglo-Saxon race and particularly Americans were best-suited to spread their religious, cultural, and civic values throughout the world.

Senator Alfred J. Beveridge of Indiana stressed the economic benefits of imperialism and believed that Americans were obligated to govern others who were not able to govern themselves.

Cold War: The Cold War was the dominant foreign policy problem for the United States and Russia between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world, which led to, among other things, U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During this period both Russia and the United States devoted vast resources to their military, but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War forced policy makers to struggle to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy.

Human Rights: Equal and inalienable rights for all members of the human family. After the horrors of World War II, nations initiated efforts to develop international standards to protect people from individuals, groups, or nations. There is debate at home and abroad about the nature and scope of human rights. Some believe that human rights exist to protect individuals' civil and political freedoms. Civil and political rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, torture and arbitrary arrest, as well as the rights to a fair trial, free speech, free movement, and privacy. Others have argued that there are economic, social, and cultural rights as well. These include economic rights related to work, fair pay, and leisure; social rights concerning an adequate standard of living for health, well-being and education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. International consensus is growing that human rights should encompass the full spectrum spanned by these viewpoints.

Globalization: The term globalization is used to describe today's changing international economic environment. The end of the Cold War and the rapid growth of new technologies in computing, communication, and transportation have created the conditions for a highly dynamic and more open world economy. With these technological advances, the cost of doing business around the world has dropped significantly. At the same time, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the GATT and the formation of the WTO in 1993 encouraged increased trade between nations. These conditions combined to create not only economic opportunity but also economic, cultural, and social dislocation. While the WTO has set standards for international trade that create economic opportunities, activists have begun to demand that the WTO also deal with the issues of dislocation. U.S. trade policy and its role in globalization has come to be seen as a positive force by some and a destructive force by others.

Sovereignty: The absolute right of a state to govern itself. The UN Charter prohibits external interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state without the state's consent.

Sovereignty means freedom from external

control. Traditionally, governments, whether they be headed by democratically elected officials or self-imposed dictators—have strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty has served as the foundation of international organizations. Governments have supported the UN, the League of Nations, and earlier international efforts based on the assumption that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries have always influenced the policies of weaker countries. The United States, for example, has long had a hand in shaping the foreign policies and economic development of Latin American nations.

In recent decades, sovereign states have faced pressure from two levels. From above, the principle of sovereignty has been eroded by forces and institutions that extend beyond national boundaries. The growth of world trade, multinational corporations, and even international environmental organizations has forced governments to accept limits on their sovereignty. Brazil, for example, has taken steps to improve conditions for Indians in the Amazon region and to curb the destruction of the rainforest in part because of worldwide concern. Meanwhile, state sovereignty has increasingly been challenged from below by minority groups and regional interests. In Russia, for example, the central government has signed agreements with regional leaders to broaden local control over economic affairs.

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Introduction and Part I and completed one of the accompanying study guides before beginning the unit.)

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four Futures, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the Futures. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned Futures. How do the Futures differ in their interpretation of history? What kind of international role is envisioned for the United States by each Future? Ask students to respond to a current event through the perspective of their assigned Futures. (See Day Four, "Applying the Futures.") Moving beyond the Futures, ask students to imagine they are participating in a meeting of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Which values should guide the direction of U.S. foreign policy? Which Futures best accommodate the changes in international affairs since the end of the Cold War?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Future Five."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Program by e-mail (Choices@Brown.edu), or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet is designed to help students incorporate the values into their group presentations.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

_____

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration.	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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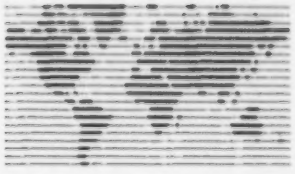

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INTRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

The events of September 11, 2001 highlighted some of the challenges and contradictions humanity is likely to face in the twenty-first century. On that day a terrorist organization known as al Qaeda attacked the United States and killed more than three thousand people. Americans and the world were stunned.

In February 1998, al Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, had announced the founding of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. (The "Crusaders" is a reference to the Christian invasions of the holy lands in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries which bin Laden equates with U.S. policy). Experts warned that al Qaeda was a large collection of loosely connected secret cells or groups that were dispersed around the world. They noted that thousands had come to al Qaeda's camps in Afghanistan to learn the skills they would need to become terrorists.

The U.S. response was dramatic and swift. In a military campaign led by the United States, coalition forces destroyed al Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan, forced its leaders deeper underground, and overthrew the Taliban regime which had harbored al Qaeda. The United States used some of its most powerful and advanced weaponry as well as small groups of ground forces in support of a campaign led by various Afghan warlords opposed to the Taliban regime.

Many people feel that the events of September 11 represent the beginning of a "new world" that will redefine the nature and goals of international relations. Whether this idea is true or not, the attacks created new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy. With al Qaeda's base destroyed in Afghanistan, it was not obvious to many Americans what the next steps should be.

Whatever course the U.S. decides to pursue, it seems likely that addressing terrorism will be a long-term effort, requiring policy makers to reexamine the allocation of the country's resources.

The attacks of September 11, made it clear that not all of the world has entered the twenty-first century on the same path. At one level, much of the planet seems increasingly connected by a web of technology, trade, and common political values. Traditional dividing lines based on borders and culture are blurring.

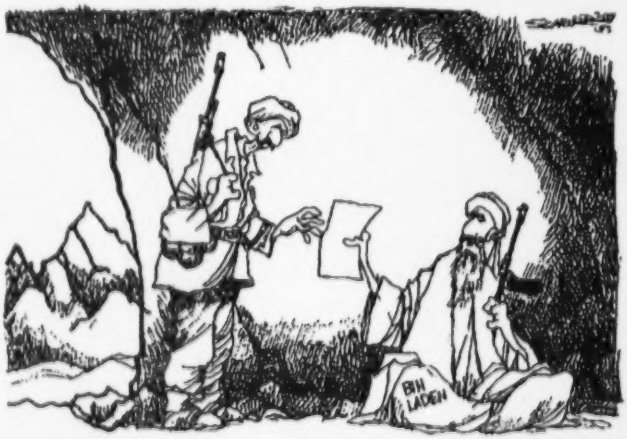
At another level, the problems that have haunted humanity since the dawn of history show no signs of disappearing. Wars continue to be fought over questions of land, power, and identity. Billions of people live in grinding poverty. Tyrannical governments rely on fear and intimidation to maintain their authority.

Where is the international system heading?

This background reading is designed to help you make sense of the forces that will shape the international system in the twenty-first century. Like the world itself, the topic is enormously complicated. Looking into the future of international relations requires an understanding of politics, economics, science, and dozens of other important subjects.

There are no easy answers. The age in which we are living has yet to be clearly defined. History tells us that many of today's assumptions may not hold up for long.

The only certainty we can count on as we look ahead is change. The century that you and your classmates will mold will be filled with more people, more innovations, and more challenges than ever before.



"THIS IS MY LATEST EDICT CONDEMNING GODLESS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY... FAX IT TO THE NETWORKS AND POST IT ON THE INTERNET..."

Bill Schorr. United Media Services. Reprinted with permission.

In the following pages, you will have an opportunity to consider the course of history. The next section of the background reading examines how changes in the international balance of power and the evolution of political values are likely to play out in the twenty-first century. The second section focuses on the role of economics in shaping international relations. The third section puts forward a few predictions on the impact of science and technology on the twenty-first century. Finally, the background reading concludes with a survey of the leading items on the international agenda.

Part I: The International System in the 21st Century

Until recently, stability — not change — best described the international system. Two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — stood at the head of the community of nations from the late 1940s until the late 1980s. Their rivalry, known as the Cold War, was often intense, but never boiled over into actual fighting between the Americans and Soviets. U.S. policymakers largely accepted the superpower division as a permanent feature of the international system. Few could imagine a world without it.

When the Soviet Union began crumbling in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many American officials were as stunned as their Soviet counterparts. The fixed rules of international relations that had framed the outlook of two generations were suddenly gone.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, scholars have referred to our time as the "post-Cold War" era. The term implies that we are not quite sure exactly where we stand.

The Soviet collapse left the United States in an unusual position. Seldom before in human history has a single country so dominated the international stage. America's combination of economic, military, and technological strength has put our nation far ahead of potential rivals. The principles of democracy and the free market promoted by the United States have never been so widely accepted.

Yet, the dominance of the United States has another side. As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is also the most visible nation in the world. American dominance comes from more than just military might. The ability of U.S. firms and ideas to expand throughout the world has helped kindle resentment against the "Americanization" of cultures of different nations. Some fear that the cultures and traditions of their countries will be overwhelmed by the values, popular culture, technologies, and life-styles of the United States. The values conveyed by MTV or Hollywood are often regarded as harmful—an assault by an immoral American society on traditional values. For many people overseas, the rapidly changing global and political environment has led to shifting and uncertain cultural and economic landscapes.

The Clash of Ideas

The twentieth century is often associated with things — airplanes, automobiles, spaceships, computers. Historians of the century, however, may ultimately devote most of their attention to the ideas of the period. Specifically, they may remember the twentieth century as a high point of political ideology — combinations of beliefs and assumptions that promise to improve society.

Nearly all of the century's most potent ideologies arose in Europe during the 1800s. The Industrial Revolution fueled much of the new thinking. The extremes in poverty and wealth associated with industrialization spurred demands for justice and equality. The growth of cities and rising education levels created a new audience for political movements. Many of these same factors also sharpened differences between nations. Attachment to national identity, known as "nationalism," sank deeper roots among Germans, British, French, Italians, and other peoples of Europe.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the leading ideologies ranked alongside the world's great religions in the breadth of their influence. They gained the commitment of millions of supporters and convinced many of them that a new and better world could be created through political revolution. The most zealous believers held that government policies

were capable of transforming even the very nature of humanity.

Which ideologies dominated the twentieth century?

Two of the twentieth century's most ambitious ideologies — fascism and communism — were an outgrowth of nineteenth century movements for national advancement and economic justice. Fascists and communists adopted extreme, often violent, measures to realize their vision for the future. They believed that concern for individual rights should not stand in the way of remaking society.

Fascism and communism were responsible for many of the twentieth century's horrors. The aggressive nationalism of fascism lay at the core of the dictatorships in Nazi Germany, Japan, and Italy that triggered World War II. Communism, while rejecting the racist views of fascism, often employed methods that were equally brutal.

The twentieth century saw the values of fascism and communism pitted against liberal democracy — the philosophy underlying the political systems of the United States, Britain, France, and other "Western" countries. In contrast to fascism and communism, Western liberal democracy places strict limits on government authority. Community groups, volunteer associations, and other civic institutions thrive in healthy democracies. Under fascism and communism, organizations outside of state control are typically seen as threats to official power.

Liberal democracy is also limited in what it promises. Democratic leaders may pledge to create more jobs or reduce crime, but changing human nature is beyond the scope of liberal democracy.

Why did fascism and communism decline?

Fascism reached its peak in the period between World War I and World War II. Economic troubles and social tumult paved the way for the growth of fascist movements in Europe and Japan. Fascist leaders often stoked fears of change and rekindled dreams of national glory to gain power. Once in control, they built up their military might and sought to exploit the weaknesses of their neighbors.

Fascism's relentless aggression was ultimately its downfall. In a bid for world domination, Nazi Germany, Japan, and Italy faced a coalition of the leading Western democracies and the communist Soviet Union. The crushing defeat of the fascist alliance undercut the appeal of fascist movements worldwide.

With fascism smashed, communism and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II stronger than ever. By the late 1940s, the Soviets were competing with the United States for international influence. At the height of the Cold War, the international communist movement claimed tens of millions of followers worldwide dedicated to a common cause. The success of communist revolutions in China, Southeast Asia, and Cuba led many Americans to fear that communism would eventually sweep over the planet.

In the end, the Soviet Union was brought down by a gradual shift in the undercurrents of history. Changes in technology undermined the ability of the state-run Soviet economy to keep up with the American system. New ideas and rising expectations within the Soviet Union fueled resentment against the heavy hand of communism.

Has ideological struggle ended?

As a result of the Soviet Union's downfall, Western liberal democracy dominates the ideological playing field. Although there are other competing ideologies like political Islam and nationalism, none can claim as vast a reach.

Political Islam: Political Islam — a movement which strives to establish Islamic law as the foundation of government — is perhaps the only ideology that presently commands both fervent devotion and a far-flung international following. The outreach of political Islam, however, has been stymied by the complex ethnic, economic, and cultural divisions of the Islamic world. Since political Islamists gained power in Iran in 1979, most of their efforts to ignite revolution elsewhere have been thwarted. In addition, the violence of bin Laden's terror represents an extremist Islamic ideology that most Muslims reject.

Nationalism: Nationalism remains a strong force in many countries. In the Balkan peninsula, for example,

nationalist movements resulted in the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. But whereas Nazism sought to make the "Aryan race" the masters of the entire world, nationalist movements today have much more limited aspirations. Seldom do they extend far beyond national borders.

Liberal Democracy: Finally, liberal democracy faces constraints of a different sort. Although more nations than ever embrace the democratic label, democracy has shallow roots in most parts of the world. In many poor, developing countries, officials have accepted democratic reforms primarily in exchange for foreign aid or trade benefits.

How have attitudes toward government changed?

The decline of ideology reflects a shift in attitudes toward government. Political expectations have been lowered. Few look to the state today to dramatically improve their lives, much less construct a paradise on earth. Instead, the emphasis on ideology has largely been replaced by attention to everyday material needs. Even in China, where communism remains the official ideology, government leaders concede that managing the economy is far more important than promoting political purity.

In the wealthy democracies of the developed world, most of the significant divisions that cut through the political landscape have been closed. The once bitter relationship between workers and business owners has mellowed as the economy has changed. In Western Europe, for example, political parties that were founded to represent factory workers generally pursue the same free-market economic policies as their conservative opponents.

But if ideology no longer matters, what values will bind people together? The Soviet Union was among the first states to be confronted with this question. There, the stakes were especially high because government played such a large role in society. When belief in communism withered, the government was unable to forge a new set of values on which to rebuild Soviet society.

What other forces threaten state power?

In reality, the forces that brought down the Soviet Union threaten the authority of states everywhere. The decline in ideology is a key element in the equation, but deeper changes in the international system are critical as well. During the Cold War, the broad undercurrents of history were overshadowed by the superpower struggle. Now, however, other pressures facing states are becoming clearer.

At the local level, the movement toward democracy and nationalism which began more than two centuries ago continues to chip away at the authority of central governments. Even small ethnic groups are now calling for self-determination — the right to govern their own affairs. In the Soviet Union, demands for self-determination sidetracked efforts at economic reform and contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet system.

Other large states, such as India, Russia, and Nigeria, may also be vulnerable to self-determination movements and even violent rebellion. Wealthy democracies have threatened to unravel as well. In Canada, for example, for many years a large portion of the French-speaking population of Quebec province favored breaking away from the Canadian confederation and forming a separate nation.

At the international level, national governments increasingly find themselves without the resources to protect their citizens from the twists and turns of the global economy. Even the largest countries can be jolted by sudden shifts in international trade and investment. For smaller nations, the rules of the global marketplace are much harsher. They are often at the mercy of economic factors beyond their control.

Understanding the Global Economy

In July 1997, the government of Thailand announced that it would allow market forces to determine the exchange rate of the Thai currency, the *baht*. The value of the *baht* then proceeded to fall 17 percent against the U.S. dollar. Currency traders took notice of the drop, but outside of financial circles the news from Thailand received little attention.

Thailand's currency problems, however, soon ballooned into a wider economic crisis. Other Southeast Asian nations were the first to feel the ripple

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effect, but it soon engulfed most of East Asia. By the fall of 1998, countries as diverse as Russia and Brazil faced severe economic downturns that could be traced back to the devaluation of the *baht*. Americans, too, were coming to recognize that their own economy was vulnerable.

What are the foundations of the global economy?

The East Asian economic crisis provided the world with a crash course on the impact of economic globalization.

The global economy itself is not a new concept. Trade began stitching the economies of the world together soon after the birth of the first civilizations. In recent years, however, changes in technology and economic policy have spurred forward the pace of economic globalization at speeds previously unseen.

Advances in telecommunications and the growth of the Internet have created a global marketplace for stocks, currencies, and other investments. Huge sums of money flow in and out of countries with the click of a mouse.

Perhaps more important than the technological advances are the political changes that have spread a common set of rules governing international trade and investment. The United States has led the way in promoting economic globalization. Since the end of World War II, U.S. leaders have pushed for a worldwide reduction of trade barriers. The United States also took the first steps in the 1970s to loosen rules on currency exchange, investment, and banking. Financial markets that had been confined by national boundaries gradually became international.

The debt crisis in the developing world created another opportunity for the West to extend the scope of free-market principles. By the 1980s, many developing countries were dependent on loans from Western banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to keep their governments afloat. In exchange for the loans, developing countries that had long sought to protect their industries from foreign competition adopted free-market policies. High tariffs on imports were lowered, regulations blocking foreign investment were removed, and state-run industries were sold to private owners.

How has economic globalization contributed to financial crises?

Now that the global economy has become more interconnected than ever, world leaders are devoting more energy to shielding their countries from its sharp edges. Since the East Asian crisis, the emphasis has been on managing the often abrupt swings in international financial markets.

In 1996, for example, developing countries received $308 billion in foreign investment. Investors from the developed world pushed stock markets in East Asia, Latin America, and Russia to record highs. After the East Asian crisis, however, the money flowed out just as fast as it had flowed in. Foreign investment in the developing world in 2001 was $204 billion.

The drop in foreign investment has hurt many of the emerging economies of the developing world. In Southeast Asia, years of steady growth were suddenly reversed. Unemployment in Indonesia's cities reached 40 percent. In Thailand, hundreds of thousands of factory workers lost their jobs and were

forced to return to their native villages to survive.

What is the role of the IMF in the global economy?

Responsibility for maintaining the stability of the international financial system has fallen largely to the IMF. The IMF operates much like a credit union. Its 184 member nations deposit money with the fund according to their wealth and may request short-term loans to weather financial crises.

IMF loans, however, come with strings attached. In the case of Southeast Asia, the IMF pressed governments in the region to cut their ties to local businesses, open their banking systems to foreign competition, and reduce spending.

IMF measures helped to soften the impact of the East Asian crisis on most developed economies. In fact, the United States enjoyed record prosperity even as East Asia slumped. Nonetheless, the crisis raised important questions for the future.

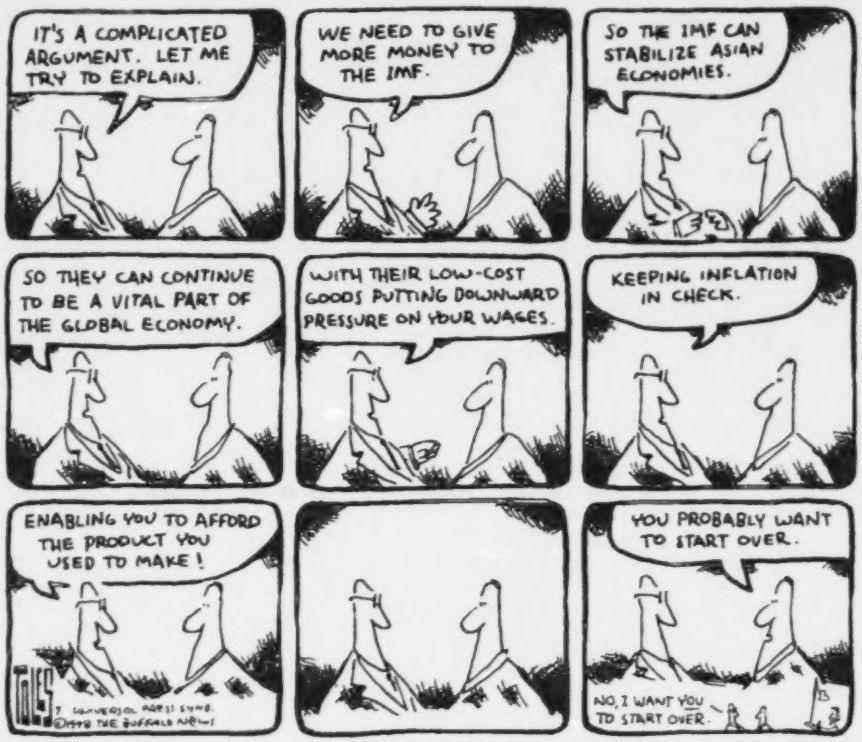
The IMF has been the target of criticism from several angles. Critics in the developing world view the fund as a tool of wealthy nations, particularly the United States. They contend that the IMF's policies are intended to stymie their economic development while safeguarding the interests of Western investors. In the United States, criticism is most often directed at the IMF's failure to root out corruption and waste in the developing world. They argue that IMF loans often allow bloated governments to put off difficult free-market reforms.

The IMF's policies aside, the East Asian crisis also drew attention to the fund's limited resources. Developed nations, especially the United States, have been reluctant over the years to increase their contributions to the fund. As a percentage of global trade, the IMF's reserves are now much smaller than they were in the past. And yet, economic globalization has raised the risks of future financial crises. Economists warn that the IMF may not be able to prevent the next regional downturn from turning into a global depression.

Why does the knowledge economy represent a break with the past?

The forces of economic globalization are proceeding hand-in-hand with another sweeping economic transformation. In the developed world, and even in pockets of the developing world, economies are regearing toward the production of knowledge rather than things.

The computer industry offers the most vivid illustration of the change. The production of computer hardware presents only a small part of the industry's output. Rather, the bulk of the computer industry's contribution to the economy consists of the creation of software, including the development of custom-designed applications and the development of sites on the world wide web. Firms associated with the manufacturing of hardware, such as IBM and Dell, have done well, but the industry's most profitable company


IT'S A COMPLICATED ARGUMENT. LET ME TRY TO EXPLAIN.
WE NEED TO GIVE MORE MONEY TO THE IMF.
SO THE IMF CAN STABILIZE ASIAN ECONOMIES.
SO THEY CAN CONTINUE TO BE A VITAL PART OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.
WITH THEIR LOW-COST GOODS PUTTING DOWNWARD PRESSURE ON YOUR WAGES.
KEEPING INFLATION IN CHECK.
ENABLING YOU TO AFFORD THE PRODUCT YOU USED TO MAKE!
YOU PROBABLY WANT TO START OVER.
NO, I WANT YOU TO START OVER.

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is the software giant Microsoft.

The transition to a knowledge economy (or as some like to say, the "Information Age") has been unsettling. While high-tech skills have been in demand, many workers have been left behind by the transformation. In the United States, for example, more than four million manufacturing jobs were lost from 1979 to 2001. The story is much the same in other developed countries.

What are the prospects for developing nations?

Manufacturing has not disappeared. People are buying more manufactured goods than ever. Instead, the economics of manufacturing have changed. Part of the shift is related to new technologies that have allowed factory owners to replace workers with machines in many industries. More important for the international system is the movement of manufacturing from rich to poor countries.

As the developed world enters the Information Age, many societies in the developing world are crossing the bridge from agricultural to industrial economies. Like the United States and Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century, they are often plagued by the problems of pollution, child labor, and dangerous working conditions.

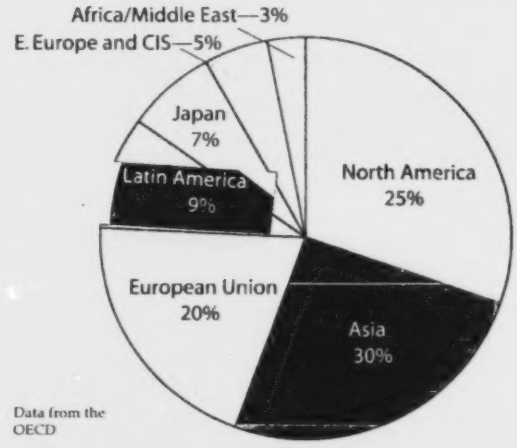
How many developing countries will complete the transition and join the developed world will be a crucial question for the twenty-first century. Since the end of World War II, only a handful of nations have made the leap.

In East Asia, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan have pulled themselves out of poverty. In Europe, standards of living in Greece, Portugal, and Spain have risen dramatically. In Latin America, Chile has made the most progress toward joining the developed world.

For each economic success story, trade has been decisive. The East Asian countries and Chile pursued economic policies that promoted the growth of exports. For the nations of southern Europe, membership in the European Union trading bloc opened up new markets for their goods.

Economic globalization, however, has heightened competition. Since the end of the Cold War, nearly every country has committed itself to free-market principles and the expansion of exports. Moreover, many of them are seeking to sell the same products in the same markets.

Global Economic Output by Region



Data from the OECD

How wide is the gulf between rich and poor?

Economic globalization and the emergence of the knowledge economy have also drawn a clearer line between the world's haves and have-nots. Inequality runs deeper both within societies and between nations. In the United States, for example, the gap between the rich and the poor widened in the 1990s. In 2000, the top fifth of American households earned 49.6 percent of the nation's income, while the bottom fifth claimed just 3.6 percent.

At the international level, the gulf separating rich and poor nations is even wider. Per capita income in the United States and other wealthy societies is forty times greater than per capita income in the world's poorest countries. The UN estimates that 1.5 billion people — a quarter of the world's population — get by on $1 or less a day.

Why has globalization deepened inequality?

In the U.S. economy, workers with high-tech skills have benefited the most from the economic expansion of the past decade. Their salaries have outpaced the overall growth rate of the economy.

Meanwhile, the poorly educated have struggled. Taking inflation into account, their incomes have fallen since the 1970s.

The same conditions apply to the international economy as well. The developing nations that have made the most progress are those that have harnessed new technologies. China's economic growth, for instance, has been fueled in large part by small-scale manufacturing. At the same time, countries that depend on selling raw materials or agricultural commodities have struggled. Prices for economic staples such as oil, copper, sugar, and coffee have fallen (accounting for inflation) since the 1970s.

Economists predict that the logic of the free market will continue to leave many countries on the sidelines of the global economy. Sub-Saharan Africa (the countries of the continent that do not border the Mediterranean) was scarcely touched by the upsurge in trade and foreign investment in the early 1990s. The region's share of world trade has slipped to less than 2 percent. Even in nations that have advanced, such as China and India, hundreds of millions of people in the countryside remain desperately poor.

India is home to many of the developing world's starkest contrasts. Indian computer programmers have made the city of Bangalore a major hub in the international computer software industry. Much of the code they write is sent electronically to companies in California's Silicon Valley, and is then integrated into computer applications that are distributed internationally. Only a few miles away, however, Indian peasants farm the land with techniques unchanged in centuries and suffer from ailments that could be cured with simple, inexpensive treatments.

How is economic change likely to affect the international system?

From a historical perspective, the inequality accompanying the current era of economic change is not surprising. Before the Industrial Revolution, economies throughout almost every part of the world were very similar. The vast majority of people made their living by farming, or perhaps through fishing or hunting. The rich comprised no more than a small portion of any society, while the concept of a middle class hardly existed.

Industrialization shattered the old economic order by generating new sources of wealth. Great fortunes were made in manufacturing, mining, and transportation. A new middle class emerged in the growing cities of the industrialized world. In addition, new industries and technologies altered the international military balance of power. The nations of Europe, Japan, and the United States built overseas empires based on their industrial strength.

The transition to the Information Age will undoubtedly have repercussions in the international arena as well. Militarily, the weaponry of the Industrial Age, such as tanks and heavy artillery, no longer carries the weight on the battlefield it once did. Instead, Information Age technologies are being applied to precision-guided missiles and radar-evading aircraft. Countries at the forefront of the knowledge economy also have an edge in international trade and finance. While Chinese toy manufacturers, for example, rely on cheap labor to compete in the global economy, Hollywood film producers reap even bigger profits by offering movie audiences cutting-edge special effects.

Science and Technology

In the late 1800s, the French author Jules Verne gained an international following by artfully describing the technologies of the future. He envisioned a twentieth century of space travel, computers, airplanes, gasoline-powered cars, and even fax machines. At the same time, he believed that the new technologies would change the people who used them, watering down human relationships and breeding loneliness.

If Verne were alive today, he would surely be writing about the connection between science, technology, and society in the twenty-first century. In Verne's time, science was pushed forward mostly by solitary geniuses. In the twentieth century, scientific discovery became much more institutionalized, depending mostly on support from governments, universities, and corporations. In addition, breakthroughs in communication have allowed scientists to share their knowledge with their colleagues worldwide.

The vast reach of the scientific community makes it a safe bet that the pace of discovery will speed up in the twenty-first century. More interesting is trying to predict the areas in which the most significant breakthroughs will occur.

What is the direction of the computer revolution?

The last decade witnessed the full flowering of the computer revolution, especially in the United States. As computer chips continue to increase in power and decrease in size, they are likely to be integrated into more of the products we use. They are also anticipated to find their way into the human body to monitor and improve our health. At the same time, the Internet will doubtlessly play a more prominent role in coming decades. The expansion of global communications networks will continue to jar our concept of space and geography.

Our increasing reliance on computers and communications networks will have serious implications for the military as well. U.S. defense strategists recognize that our country's high level of technological sophistication leaves us exposed to new forms of cyber-warfare. They are preparing to fight battles over the control of information, whether it be against organized crime or terrorist groups. On the conventional battlefield, military planners foresee the expanded use of "smart" weapons and the introduction of robots.

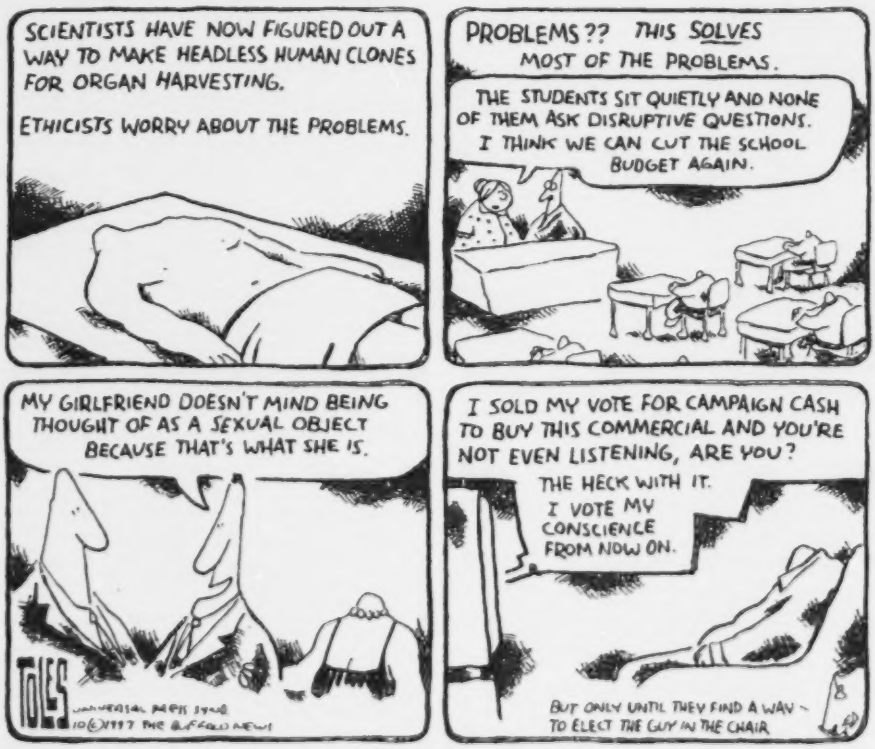
How will biotechnology alter society?

While computers have captured most of the headlines in recent years, the revolution in biotechnology may in fact turn out to be the most important science story of the twenty-first century. Genetic engineering — altering the most fundamental building blocks of life — has been taking place since the 1970s. Scientists have created hundreds of new organisms and plants for use in medicine, agriculture, and other fields. They are now conducting experiments in gene therapy that could eventually be applied to repairing genetic defects in humans. The ability to clone humans is within their grasp.

Biotechnology has raised profound moral and ethical issues. Science is on the verge of putting the power of God into human hands. Cloning will allow people to reproduce themselves, perhaps even create multiple copies. Taken a step further, governments could assume a role in reproduction, creating and nurturing children in state institutions. Moreover, advances in gene therapy may lead both parents and governments to pursue a new race of superhumans.

At the other end of life, science seems determined to push back the onset of old age and death. Relentless progress toward curing deadly diseases, creating artificial organs, and unlocking the secrets of aging could extend life indefinitely, at least for the wealthy.

Inevitably, the coming revolution in biotechnol-


SCIENTISTS HAVE NOW FIGURED OUT A WAY TO MAKE HEADLESS HUMAN CLONES FOR ORGAN HARVESTING.
ETHICISTS WORRY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS.
PROBLEMS?? THIS SOLVES MOST OF THE PROBLEMS.
THE STUDENTS SIT QUIETLY AND NONE OF THEM ASK DISRUPTIVE QUESTIONS. I THINK WE CAN CUT THE SCHOOL BUDGET AGAIN.
MY GIRLFRIEND DOESN'T MIND BEING THOUGHT OF AS A SEXUAL OBJECT BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT SHE IS.
TOLES
I SOLD MY VOTE FOR CAMPAIGN CASH TO BUY THIS COMMERCIAL AND YOU'RE NOT EVEN LISTENING, ARE YOU?
THE HECK WITH IT. I VOTE MY CONSCIENCE FROM NOW ON.
BUT ONLY UNTIL THEY FIND A WAY TO ELECT THE GUY IN THE CHAIR

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ogy will strike at the core of our most deep-seated beliefs. The purpose of the most basic human institution — the family — will be called into question. Matters of birth and death will be thrust into the public policy arena as never before.

At the international level, biotechnology will add a new dimension to the division between haves and have-nots. It will also heighten pressures to establish global regulations on genetic engineering. Nightmares once confined to science fiction — such as breeding a new species of subhuman soldiers or slave workers — could become reality as biotechnology spreads.

How will science respond to energy shortages?

The depletion of natural resources will also place new demands on science. Oil and other fossil fuels — the lifeblood of industrial economies — are particularly critical. During the twentieth century, access to oil guided the foreign policies of the leading powers. U.S. involvement in the Middle East, which contains over 60 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, revolves largely around maintaining stability in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

At the moment, oil production is at record levels and prices are comparatively low. In the coming decades, however, oil production is expected to fall as reserves are gradually depleted. Signs of scarcity could set off a rise in prices and jolt the global economy. In the 1970s, a sudden jump in prices triggered inflation worldwide and left many poor countries deep in debt.

Before another oil crisis occurs, science could provide alternatives to oil and other fossil fuels. Solar and wind power are already being put to use on a small scale to produce electricity. Questions of cost and feasibility have held back their progress, but a rise in fossil fuel prices would spur new interest. Another technology with promise is hydrogen fuel cells, which promise an endless supply of virtually pollution-free energy.

The 21st Century Policy Agenda

In the spring of 1918, while the world was preoccupied with the decisive battles of World War I, a new strain of flu struck U.S. soldiers on their way to fight in Europe. Carried by the transportation network of the modern age, the virus spread swiftly over Europe, then leapfrogged to the other populated continents. Along the way, it mutated into a more deadly form that took a devastating toll on children and young adults. Before the flu epidemic ran its course in 1919, it killed roughly 30 million people — more than World War I.

The influenza of 1918-19 was a global problem that demanded a global solution. Yet, the international system of the era was not prepared to respond to the crisis. No international organization at the time was responsible for monitoring and studying flu outbreaks. Moreover, the international community failed to join forces to develop an effective vaccine against influenza. (A flu vaccine was not introduced until 1945.)

Why are global issues gaining prominence?

The twenty-first century may be able to avoid a repeat of the influenza of 1918-19. However, the international policy agenda of the coming decades promises to be crowded with equally pressing global issues.

The globalization of the economy and the advance of science and technology have combined to shrink the planet. People in virtually every country are more interconnected and interdependent. We are in possession of weapons that are capable of destroying civilization, and perhaps human life itself. In addition, our increased numbers mean that we are placing unprecedented demands on the earth for food, fuel, and other resources. In short, humanity does not have much room for error.

Even as globalization marches forward, the concept of global issues remains fuzzy. For the most part, the discussion of global issues is confined to international conferences. Controversies seldom spill over to national political arenas, especially in the United States. Policy measures on global issues generally take years to craft, and are often not backed up by meaningful enforcement procedures.

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How does global warming illustrate the challenges surrounding global issues?

Global warming offers a good example of the challenges involved in addressing global issues. In recent decades, scientists have linked the consumption of oil, coal, and gas to an increase in temperatures worldwide. The burning of these fossil fuels releases carbon dioxide, methane, and other "greenhouse" gases that trap heat in the atmosphere. Scientists estimate that average global temperatures will rise between 1.8 and 6.3 degrees Celsius by the end of the twenty-first century if present trends continue. The increased temperatures, they predict, could devastate the world's environment.

Although every nation contributes to global warming, no single nation has the power to solve it. Even the United States, which emits over one-fifth of the gases responsible for global warming, cannot overcome the problem alone.

Beginning in 1992 with an international conference in Brazil, world leaders have met on several occasions to discuss global warming. A scientific panel has also been formed to study humanity's impact on the environment.

Heightened awareness of the dangers ahead, however, has yet to translate into determined action to counter global warming. Wealthy, developed countries have agreed only to slight reductions in their emissions of greenhouse gases. Meanwhile, most developing countries object to any limitations on their consumption of fossil fuels.

What other issues are featured on the international agenda?

Unfortunately, global warming is likely to be only one of many environmental worries on the international agenda of the twenty-first century. The destruction of wilderness, the spread of acid rain, and other problems have already spilled across national boundaries and are expected to worsen.

The environment is also connected to a wide range of related issues. Changes in climate or soil erosion could drive tens of millions of people off the land in poor nations. Such an outpouring of refugees would quickly overwhelm neighboring countries. Moreover, millions may try to enter wealthy nations.

Shortages of fresh water may trigger instability. In the Middle East, Turkey and Syria have come to the brink of war in recent years over competing claims to the water of the Euphrates River. Tensions there and in other arid regions are expected to worsen as water consumption rises.

The AIDS crisis has provided an insight into another set of twenty-first century problems. With the increase in travel and trade, disease can spread throughout the globe even faster than it did during the 1918-19 influenza epidemic.

Our planet's increasing interconnectedness has also opened an opportunity for the spread of drugs, weapons, terrorism, and organized crime. Terrorism, in particular, is a worldwide concern after attacks in the United States and in other countries around the globe. Increasingly, terrorists rely on high-tech communications systems to evade the law and have formed worldwide networks to extend their reach.

What will be the impact of population pressures?

Increasing population pressures will add a sense of urgency to all of the items on the international agenda. By the middle of the twenty-first century, the world's population is set to approach 10 billion (from the current level of 6.2 billion). Almost all of the

growth is forecast to occur in the developing world. In many countries, demands for fresh water, food, farmland, and fuel could push societies to the breaking point.

At the same time, birth rates worldwide are falling sharply. In much of the developed world and the former Soviet Union, the present generation is not producing enough children to replace itself. Without immigration, nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan could see their populations shrink dramatically in the twenty-first century.

Why has international cooperation increased?

Addressing the global issues of the twenty-first century will require a new level of cooperation among the world's leading powers. The end of the Cold War brought down one set of barriers to international consensus. Rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is no longer being played out in the developing world. International organizations have been freed from the divisions imposed by the superpower struggle.

The end of the Cold War has revitalized the United Nations (UN). The UN has led the way in organizing peacekeeping missions for war-torn countries and providing humanitarian relief to combat starvation and disease. The human rights standards that were among the founding principles of the UN have gained new meaning. The international community has enacted economic sanctions and even taken military action to punish extreme abuses of human rights.

Will Western values continue to spread?

International cooperation, however, rests on shaky underpinnings. The seeming consensus prevailing in international relations largely reflects Western dominance of the world stage. The human rights values championed by the UN, in fact, clearly have their roots in the West.

How far Western values will be extended in the twenty-first century is open to question. China, Russia, and other non-Western powers contend that the West's emphasis on human rights threatens to topple a crucial pillar of the international system—the principle of state sovereignty. Defenders of the principle maintain that states should be free from external control.

In that respect, the war against Yugoslavia in 1999 marked an important turning point. For the first time, an international coalition launched a war specifically to stop a government from carrying out human rights violations within its borders. Western leaders placed safeguarding human rights above preserving sovereignty.

In contrast, Chinese and Russian leaders argued that concern for human rights was simply a ploy for bolstering Western influence. Their staunch opposition to the war against Yugoslavia exposed a rift in international relations.

In addition, radical Islamic terrorists' message draws much of its power from resentment against the West. The violence they promote is a backlash against the dominance of Western ideas and policies.

Meanwhile, other critics of the United States and its allies point to a double standard in promoting human rights. They note that Western nations have been reluctant to intervene in regions where they lack important interests and military bases. In the 1990s, for example, the West stood on the sidelines as governments in Sudan and Rwanda conducted wars and massacres that claimed millions of lives.

How are developments in China likely to influence the international balance of power?

In the coming decades, China represents the most probable counterweight to Western, and particularly American, domination of international relations. With more than 1.28 billion people, China's population dwarfs that of the United States. Chinese leaders have made the modernization of their military a top priority, with an eye toward eventually matching the strength of the United States. Moreover, they clearly resist the prominence of Western values in the international system.

Nonetheless, China's path to superpower status is not without obstacles. The Chinese economy has grown at breakneck speed since the late 1970s, transforming a backward agricultural society into an emerging industrial giant. The pace of change, how-

ever, has threatened China's stability.

The creation of new industries has drawn millions of peasants to China's bustling cities. As many as 100 million Chinese no longer have a permanent home, floating from city to city in search of jobs and opportunities. China's industrialization has also opened a wide gap between the private sector of the economy and outmoded state-run companies. Efforts to reform state-run industries could put tens of millions of Chinese out of work. China's economic boom has taken a heavy toll on the environment as well. China's air and water pollution is among the worst in the world, seriously damaging the health of millions. Finally, the growing affluence of Chinese society is raising questions about the dictatorial rule of the Communist Party. So far, China's new middle class has avoided political confrontation, but attitudes may change if the economy falters.

Americans may have as much to fear from a weak China as from a strong China. Chaos in China could unleash a massive flow of refugees, shatter the discipline of the world's largest army, and sink the economy of East Asia. On the other hand, a strong China would likely challenge America's position in East Asia. Taiwan is a probable flashpoint. The Chinese view Taiwan as part of China and are committed to reunifying the island nation with the mainland. The Taiwanese, who have long looked to the United States for support, appear determined to go their own way.

How might Russia affect international affairs?

Russia is another key wildcard in international relations. Since the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist at the end of 1991, Russia has faced numerous challenges. Economically, Russia's once mighty industrial base has collapsed. Raw materials, such as oil, gas, and minerals, have replaced manufacturing as the foundation of the economy. While the Soviet Union represented the second-largest economy in the world, Russia's total economic output is now comparable to that of Mexico. Militarily, Russia's once proud army is a shadow of its former self. Soldiers go for months without pay, and often without overcoats. Russia's nuclear arsenal serves as the country's last link to its superpower past. Russia's government, however, barely has the resources to guard its nuclear weapons, much less upgrade its capabilities.

In the early 1990s, most Russians hoped that their country would make a smooth transition from communism to democracy and capitalism. Economic reform, however, has left the great majority of Russians worse off. Widespread corruption has eroded trust in government and business. Today, anger and resentment could set the tone of Russian politics, bring extremists to power, and reduce cooperation between Russia and the West.

Now that you have read about some of the issues that are likely to shape the international system in the twenty-first century, the time has come to begin thinking about how our country's foreign policy should address the world of the future. In the next part of this unit, you will explore four alternative paths for U.S. foreign policy. Each of the four viewpoints, or Futures, is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs about the nature of international affairs, the challenges we face in the century ahead, and the role the United States should play in the world.

The Futures do not serve as predictions for the coming years. Nor do they exhaust the list of possible U.S. goals. Rather, you should think of the Futures as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft foreign policy. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where our country should be heading.

Optional Reading: Critical Junctures in U.S. Foreign Policy

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the end of more than four decades of U.S.-Soviet confrontation known as the Cold War. Without the struggle against Soviet communism as the focus of our nation's foreign policy, Americans of all opinions entered into a lively debate about what our country's role in the world should be.

Underlying the discussion was the assumption that the United States needed a new grand strategy for the post-Cold War era. Americans had grown accustomed to the certainties of the Cold War. Anti-communism had provided a glue that helped bind our country together in a common mission.

As the Cold War faded into history, no new consensus immediately emerged for the goals of U.S. foreign policy. That is not to say that the United States left the international stage. Since the conclusion of the superpower confrontation, the United States has fought wars against Iraq and Yugoslavia, entered a trading pact with Mexico and Canada, taken part in peacekeeping missions throughout the globe, and actively promoted the principles of democracy and free-market economics. Although the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 have given new direction on security issues, the era into which we are entering remains undefined.

What can we learn from past turning points?

In this background reading, you will explore three critical turning points in the history of U.S. foreign policy. At each juncture, urgent questions emerged, alternative proposals were discussed and debated, and vital decisions were made. The choices of the day changed both America and the larger international arena.

As you will learn, the United States has seldom been an eager participant in foreign affairs. America's size, wealth, and geographic position have isolated the United States from the rest of the world. President George Washington, as he left office in 1796, advised his successors to have "as little political connection [with foreign nations] as possible." His words were largely heeded by U.S. leaders until World War II. Even today, Americans show less interest in international news, music, or sports than their counterparts in other countries.

In that sense, the Cold War era was a departure from the norm for the United States. At no other time in U.S. history did foreign policy command such a high priority. Now that the Cold War is over, historians are better able to analyze the unique set of conditions that defined the period. They are also considering the impact of the superpower struggle on our country's role in the world of the twenty-first century.

The three turning points presented in the following pages are designed to give you a deeper insight into where U.S. foreign policy has been and where it may be headed. As you examine each of the turning points, focus on the policy choices put forward and the values behind them. Identify the most important hopes and fears framing the debate. And finally, ask yourself which lessons from the past apply to U.S. foreign policy today.

Coming to Grips with Empire

The close of the 1800s marked the first major turning point for the position of the United States internationally. During the nineteenth century, the country had expanded across the continent and emerged as the world's leading economic power. Shielded from the Old World by two great oceans, Americans gave little thought to affairs overseas. As the United States changed, however, so did expectations about U.S. foreign policy. Many Americans believed that their country should take a more active role in world affairs. The Caribbean region, particularly the island of Cuba, held special interest.

Why did the Cuban struggle for independence attract America's attention?

U.S. attention was drawn to the Caribbean for a number of reasons. First, geography brought the people of the United States and the Caribbean together as neighbors. Cuba is only ninety miles away from the southern tip of Florida. As the importance of naval power increased in the 1800s, many U.S. leaders became convinced that the United States needed

to control the Caribbean to protect its own shores and shipping routes. Second, the United States and the Caribbean region were linked economically. American companies invested heavily in the sugar, coffee, and banana plantations of the Caribbean, especially as plans to build a canal across the isthmus of Central America advanced in the late 1800s.

Finally, the Cuban people's struggle for independence attracted widespread American sympathy. Since the sixteenth century, Cuba had been ruled by Spain. Most Americans in the 1800s resented the colonial powers of Europe in general, and were particularly outraged by Spain's brutal attempts to crush the Cuban independence movement. In 1898, the conflict in Cuba led the United States to declare war on Spain.

What questions arose in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War?

The Spanish-American War lasted only four months and ended with a decisive U.S. victory. Military triumph, however, raised new questions for Americans. As a result of the war, the fate of Spain's colonial empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific rested in American hands. These possessions included not only Cuba and Puerto Rico, but also the distant islands of the Philippines and Guam.

Suddenly, Americans were faced with a critical choice. Since the war of independence against Britain, Americans had considered their country to be a foe of imperialism. Most had viewed the Spanish-American War as a struggle against the forces of European colonialism. But while opposition to imperialism was strong, so was support for a more prominent U.S. presence in world affairs. A new generation of policymakers felt that the United States was obliged to establish an overseas empire like the British, French, and other European powers. They argued that U.S. control over the colonies of Spain would serve military and commercial interests, and also allow the United States to promote American democratic values in foreign lands.

Many leading Americans, including writer Mark Twain and Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, opposed U.S. rule over Spain's colonies, but President William McKinley led the campaign for annexation of the Spanish possessions. He argued that the United States had a responsibility

Manufacturing Output of the Leading Powers — 1860-1980
(100 = British manufacturing output in 1900)

Ranking	1860	1913	1953	1980
#1	Britain 45	U.S. 298	U.S. 1373	U.S. 3475
#2	China 44	Germany 138	Russia 328	Russia 1630
#3	India 19	Britain 127	Britain 258	Japan 1001
#4	France 18	Russia 77	West Germany 180	West Germany 590
#5	U.S. 16	France 57	France 98	China 553
#6	Russia 16	Austria 41	Japan 88	Britain 441
#7	Germany 11	China 33	China 71	France 362
#8	Austria 10	Japan 25	Italy 71	Italy 319
#9	Japan 6	Italy 23	Canada 66	India 254
#10	Italy 6	Belgium 16	India 52	Canada 220

From "International Industrialization Levels from the 1750s to 1980," in *Journal of European Economic History*

to advance American ideals. In 1899, the U.S. Senate narrowly approved the treaty sought by McKinley.

Why did America lose its appetite for empire?

Annexation of Spain's colonies did not put an end to debate over the U.S. role in the world. In the Philippines, U.S. troops fought to suppress Filipino nationalists from 1899 to 1902. The conflict resulted in the deaths of 4,200 Americans and 100,000-200,000 Filipinos. It also spurred protest at home. In Cuba as well, advocates of Cuban independence organized demonstrations against U.S. measures to limit self-rule.

Few could foresee at the time, however, that the age of empire was drawing to a close. While the United States established a protectorate over Panama in 1903 to pave the way for building the Panama Canal and acquired several small Pacific island groups after World War I, there was little public support in the United States for imperial expansion. In the Philippines, American officials quickly turned over much of the responsibility for governing the islands to Filipinos. In 1946, the Philippines gained full independence.

In the Caribbean as well, the United States wanted to avoid the administrative costs and military commitment associated with empire. Rather, the chief goal of U.S. policy in the region was to safeguard American business and security interests. In the case of Cuba, U.S. leaders officially granted independence to the Caribbean island while retaining the right to oversee Cuba's economic policies and foreign relations.

Making the World Safe for Democracy

The next crucial juncture in U.S. foreign policy centered on World War I. When the war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the overwhelming majority of Americans agreed that the United States should stay out of the fighting. President Woodrow Wilson established a policy of strict neutrality to avoid U.S. involvement. Like most Americans of his era, Wilson mistrusted the great powers of Europe. He believed that the United States occupied a special place in the world as a beacon of democracy, freedom, and justice. In 1914, Wilson's conception of the U.S. role in the world lay at the foundation of his policy on neutrality. By April 1917, however, Wilson evoked the same ideals in calling on Congress to declare war against Germany.

How did the Allied victory open new opportunities in international relations?

Like the Spanish-American War, World War I was a military success for the United States. Fresh American troops helped tip the balance of power in Europe against Germany, leading to an Allied victory in 1918. And as in the Spanish-American War, Americans were left with vital questions about their country's role in the world once the fighting had stopped.

President Wilson was at the center of the debate that gripped the United States from 1918 to 1920. Wilson's peace proposal, known as the Fourteen Points, called for international cooperation to maintain world peace. Wilson envisioned an association of nations that would permit all peoples to exercise self-rule. He imagined that the United States would join the proposed League of Nations and play a prominent part in safeguarding the peace of the new international order.

Why did the Senate reject Wilson's proposals?

Wilson, however, underestimated the long-standing reluctance of Americans to commit their country abroad. At the heart of the debate was the proposed structure of the League of Nations. Under the treaty Wilson submitted to the U.S. Senate, League members would have been required to come to the defense of any member under attack. Republican senators, the leading opponents of Wilson, argued that the United States might be compelled to fight to preserve the borders of a French colony in Africa or protect British imperial interests in India.

Rather than negotiate with his opponents in the Senate, Wilson hoped to rally public opinion behind his vision for U.S. foreign policy. In 1919, he traveled 8,000 miles by rail, giving forty speeches in twenty-nine cities during the course of a three-week speaking tour. Wilson's voice, however, was silenced by a crip-

pling stroke. Partially paralyzed, the President watched as the Senate in 1920 rejected U.S. membership in the League of Nations by a vote of 38-53, far short of the two-thirds majority needed to approve the treaty. One of the treaty's foes, Republican Warren G. Harding, went on to win the 1920 presidential election by pledging to return the country to "normalcy."

What was America's attitude toward foreign affairs in the 1920s and 1930s?

The bitter contest between Wilson and Republican senators turned many Americans against participation in international affairs. The establishment of communism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of fascism in Europe added to American distaste for foreign policy. As the prosperity of the 1920s gave way to the depression of the 1930s, many Americans sought to shield their country from the turmoil in Europe. In the mid-1930s, for example, Congress passed a series of laws to prevent the United States from becoming caught up in another war.

At the same time, the League of Nations proved weak and ineffective without U.S. involvement. In the 1930s, the League failed to stop Japanese, Italian, and German aggression. The overseas conflicts from which the United States hoped to isolate itself were becoming a mounting threat to world peace.

Confronting the Soviet Challenge

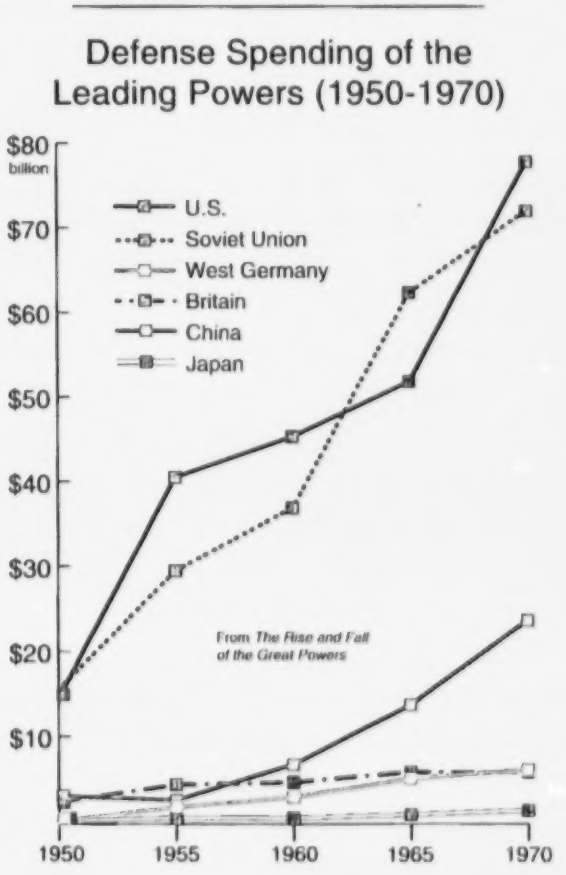
The U.S. reaction to the outbreak of fighting in Europe in September 1939 closely followed the pattern of World War I. Most Americans sympathized with Britain and France in their struggle against Nazi Germany but viewed the war as a European matter. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 instantly changed their attitude. The United States entered World War II with firm resolve, and mobilized its vast resources to lead the Allies to military victory in both Europe and the Pacific.

How did World War II change the international balance of power?

When World War II ended in 1945, the United States stood unrivaled as the strongest nation on earth. Unlike the combatants of Europe and Asia, the United States had escaped the devastation of war. Instead, U.S. industry had reached new levels of productivity during the war years, supplying much of the equipment for the Allied victory. Moreover, the United States in 1945 was the only country to possess atomic weapons.

For many Americans, however, peace represented an opportunity to again withdraw from the center stage of world affairs. With the surrender of Japan in August 1945, President Harry S. Truman moved quickly to bring U.S. troops home and allow the country's 12 million soldiers to return to civilian life. By 1947, the military had been cut to 1.4 million personnel.

But even as Americans were enjoying the benefits of peace, many U.S. policymakers came to recognize that World War II had fundamentally changed the international order. Britain, after dominating much of the globe for two centuries, was no longer able to maintain its vast empire. Likewise, the



other leading European powers — France, Germany, and Italy — were in no position to assert themselves internationally. Most importantly, the war had strengthened the hand of the Soviet Union.

In defeating Nazi Germany, Soviet forces had swept over Eastern Europe. They remained in place and provided the muscle behind Moscow's efforts to quickly gain control of the region. At the same time, the Soviets sought to extend their influence to Iran, Turkey, and Greece. In 1946, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister during the war, contended that the Soviets had cut off Eastern Europe from its western neighbors by drawing an "iron curtain" across the continent.

How did Truman respond to the Soviet threat?

Discussion about how the United States fit into the new international order gained the attention of the American public in 1947 and 1948. In March 1947, President Truman unveiled an extensive aid package for Greece and Turkey. In what came to be known as the "Truman Doctrine," he pledged U.S. support for governments everywhere fighting against communist uprisings.

At the same time, U.S. strategists were designing a more far-reaching economic assistance effort to rebuild Europe. Known as the Marshall Plan, the foreign aid program called for the United States to spend billions of dollars at a time when the U.S. economy was struggling to absorb millions of World War II veterans. Congress considered the Marshall Plan for ten months. At the same time, hundreds of town hall meetings were convened across the country to weigh the future of U.S. foreign policy.

The Marshall Plan was based on the belief that the United States should try to contain the expansion of Soviet communism. Following World War II, many leading policymakers in the administration of President Truman came to view conflict with the Soviet Union as inevitable. They argued that the United States should stand firm against Soviet ambition. Truman was particularly concerned that the Soviets would promote the spread of communism in the war-ravaged countries of Western and Southern Europe.

Why did U.S.-Soviet relations turn hostile?

Truman's approach, however, encountered opposition from supporters of a variety of perspectives. Traditional conservatives, for example, feared that making new commitments abroad would inflate the budget and give the military too much power. Meanwhile, many liberals believed that the Marshall Plan would divide Europe into two hostile camps and would undermine the cooperative mission of the newly formed United Nations (UN).

Criticism of Truman's policies was undercut by events. In 1948, the Soviets sponsored a coup to topple the government in Czechoslovakia and imposed a blockade of West Berlin to force the Allies out of the city. Although Americans were wary of becoming entangled in international affairs, they also remembered how Nazi Germany expanded its power in the 1930s through threats and intimidation while the United States watched from the sidelines. Many Americans felt that the experience of the 1930s justified a determined stance against Soviet communism.

By the end of the 1940s, the United States had set a course for an active role in international affairs. The declaration of the Truman Doctrine and the passage of the Marshall Plan in 1948 signaled that the United States was willing to make a long-term investment in the future of Europe. Equally important was the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. Under the provisions of NATO, the United States, Canada, and ten countries of Western Europe pledged to come to one another's defense if any member were attacked.

At the time, most supporters of Truman's policies imagined that the division of Europe into U.S. and Soviet spheres would last no more than ten or fifteen years. Instead, the Cold War between Washington and Moscow deepened in the 1950s and extended to virtually every area of the globe. The consensus that emerged from the national debate of 1947-48 dominated U.S. foreign policy until the power of the Soviet Union began to crumble in the late 1980s.

Futures in Brief

Future 1 — Stand Up for Democracy and Human Rights

As the home of freedom and democracy, the United States has a special responsibility to promote and protect American ideals at home and throughout the world. History has shown that democratic countries that protect human rights tend to be good global citizens. We must lend the advancement of democracy a helping hand to promote international peace and security. We must act boldly to stop the world's bullies and uphold a global standard for human rights. U.S. actions abroad must reflect our country's principles of human rights and democracy. By standing up for American values, we have the power to make the world a safer and more humane place for everyone.

Future 2 — Chart a Stable Course

In a world that has grown dangerously unstable, U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. To navigate through these unpredictable times, the United States cannot be distracted by crusading idealists or short-sighted isolationists. We have to protect ourselves and concentrate on issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests. Our relations with individual countries should serve our security and economic needs, not seek to change the world. Americans have no choice but to accept the world as it is and do our best to make our country stronger.

Future 3 — Build a More Cooperative World

We live in an interdependent and interconnected world. We cannot separate U.S. problems from the problems affecting the world as a whole. We must take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together to work collaboratively to fight the threats that face us all. The United Nations should be granted more responsibility to deal with international security, environmental pollution, financial crises, refugees, AIDS, and other global problems. We must recognize that our fate as Americans is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. There is nowhere to hide from the global challenges of the future.

Future 4 — Turn Inward

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia. We have distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. Enough is enough. Our high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us. It is time to turn our national attention to the real threats facing Americans here at home. U.S. troops should be brought home and strict limits put on military spending overseas. Foreign aid programs should be scaled back. Let the rest of the world learn from our example, rather than depend on our generosity. Americans have to put their own needs first.

Future 1

Stand Up for Democracy and Human Rights

As the home of freedom and democracy, the United States has a special responsibility to promote and protect American ideals at home and throughout the world. In the Soviet Union, we saw how the values we hold dear inspired ordinary people to challenge the communist system. In many other countries as well, democracy and human rights have made important inroads in recent years. History has shown that democratic states that protect human rights tend to be good global citizens. We must lend the advancement of democracy a helping hand. Many states remain in the hands of cruel and undemocratic leaders who terrorize their own people and threaten their neighbors, posing a danger to global peace and security. We must act boldly to stop the world's bullies and uphold a global standard for human rights.

As the unrivalled leader of the international system, the United States must uphold a principled foreign policy. U.S. actions abroad must reflect our country's commitment to human rights and democracy. While upholding our civil liberties at home, we must defend ourselves whenever and wherever we are threatened. We should also support countries that are taking their first steps toward democracy. Foreign aid should be provided to governments that respect human rights and tolerate diversity within their societies. We should act in the name of peace and the rule of law, but we must be willing to defend our principles with military force when necessary. By standing up for American values, we have the power to make the world a safer and more humane place for everyone.

What do we have to do?

We should craft U.S. foreign policy around the principles of democracy and human rights. We should not tolerate international aggression or flagrant abuses of human rights from troublemakers such as the leaders of Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Cuba. We should pressure China to allow its own citizens more freedom and to recognize the rights of the Tibetan people. We should promote democracy in the Middle East and the former Soviet bloc. We should pressure Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and other long-time allies to improve their human rights record as well.

Militarily, we should use our country's might to defend the principles of democracy and human rights on our soil and across the globe. We should keep our troops deployed around the world to prevent aggressive dictators from taking over their weaker neighbors. U.S. forces should also step in not only to protect ourselves but to stop tyrants from brutally repressing people within their own borders. We should break our alliances with governments that do not value democracy and human rights, even if this means closing our military bases in countries like Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In addition, we should permit arms exports only to our democratic allies.

Economically, we should impose trade boycotts and sanctions on countries that grossly violate the human rights of their citizens. We should use the promise of trade benefits and economic aid to encourage the countries of the former Soviet bloc and the developing world to adopt democratic principles and respect human rights.

Costs: This Future requires that the readiness of our military forces become a budget priority, with more emphasis on strengthening our rapid deployment forces. We must also double our foreign aid budget (which currently accounts for well under 1 percent of total federal government spending). Meanwhile, U.S. trade with undemocratic nations may suffer. For example, weapons exports to Saudi Arabia would be blocked unless the government there changes its policies. As the most dangerous regimes are replaced by democratic governments, we can expect military threats to gradually fade and global trade to increase.

Future 1 is based on the following beliefs

- The United States is respected throughout the world as the champion of freedom, justice, democracy, and tolerance. As Americans, we have a special responsibility to promote and protect our values of democracy and respect for human rights around the world, even if we have to act alone.
- Tyrannical regimes are the main human cause of suffering in the world. Without the checks and balances of democracy to restrain them, dictators typically oppress their own people, fan the flames of aggressive nationalism, and threaten their neighbors. To support them or turn a blind eye to their aggression is dangerous and immoral.
- We have the most powerful military in the world and we should not be afraid to use it to defend ourselves, keep troublemakers in check, and make the world a better place. The principles of democracy and human rights will extend only as far as our country's resolve to protect them.

SUPPORTERS SAY:

1. As recent events in Bosnia and Kosovo have shown, aggressive tyrants will back down only when the United States steps into a crisis and acts decisively.

2. Since democracies are much less likely to start wars against other democracies, we will be making the world a more peaceful place in the long run by spreading democratic values.

3. If we wait until the world's bullies become so powerful that we must confront them, as we did with Adolf Hitler in World War II, the cost will be enormous.

4. As new democracies take root and their economies prosper, they will become strong trading partners for the United States.

CRITICS SAY:

1. Pressuring other governments to change their ways will spark international criticism that the United States is pursuing a double standard, particularly in light of the poverty and racial problems here at home.

2. Stressing the division between democratic and undemocratic countries will split the world into two opposing camps, as in the Cold War. Valuable allies, such as Saudi Arabia, will be lost while emerging powers in the developing world, such as China, will be branded as enemies.

3. Refusing to trade with undemocratic countries will only hurt the U.S. economy, since most of our trading partners will continue to do business with these nations. Meanwhile, the United States will cut itself off from vital sources of oil and other raw materials.

4. Many societies in the developing world and the former Soviet bloc reject our definition of democracy and human rights. In the Islamic countries of the Middle East, for example, most people value their traditional way of life and may not want American-style freedoms. In addition, events in Russia have shown that U.S. foreign aid and goodwill can do little to alter deep-seated forces of history and culture.

Future 2

Chart a Stable Course

In a world that has grown dangerously unstable, U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. The threat of international terrorism, muscle-flexing ambition in China, rising poverty and chaos in the developing world, the pressures of global economic competition, and other threats have created an international minefield for U.S. leaders. To navigate through these unpredictable times, the United States cannot be distracted by crusading idealists or short-sighted isolationists. A level-headed, calculating perspective is required. We have to concentrate on issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests. That means focusing our energies on protecting our own security, cultivating our key trade relationships, ensuring our access to crucial raw materials, and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to unfriendly nations. In volatile regions, like the Middle East, we should use our influence to establish a stable balance of power.

First and foremost, U.S. foreign policy must promote U.S. interests. Our relations with individual countries should serve our economic and security needs, not seek to change the world. In this competitive era, the United States cannot afford to sacrifice important trade ties to advance dreamy political ideals. Neither should we give up our influence in international affairs for the sake of global cooperation. Americans have no choice but to accept the world as it is, and do our best to make our country stronger.

What do we have to do?

We should remain actively involved in international affairs. We must be ready and able to protect ourselves against any threats to our security. Our military alliances and trading partnerships with Western Europe, Japan, and Canada should continue to serve as the foundation of global stability. We should also seek to influence the other great powers of the world, particularly Russia and China. In other areas of conflict, such as the Middle East and the Balkans, the United States should be willing to act alone, when necessary, to protect U.S. interests. We should act decisively to deal with nuclear weapons programs in countries like North Korea, Iraq, and Iran. We must act against international terrorism wherever it is found.

Militarily, we should maintain a strong presence abroad to protect ourselves and our interests. We must continue to strengthen and expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to ensure regional security in Europe. Likewise, U.S. military ties to Japan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries should serve to keep Chinese ambitions in check and guard against the reckless threats of North Korea. Military aid and arms exports should also be used as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. For example, we should assist rebel groups that are fighting to overthrow anti-American regimes. U.S. troops should be sent into battle only to protect vital U.S. interests, as was the case when the United States and its allies sent troops to Afghanistan to root out al Qaeda. Likewise, U.S. forces should serve as international peacekeepers only in areas of conflict that are of critical importance to American security and prosperity.

Economically, we should place a higher priority on our security concerns than on our trade relations. At the same time, we should not pressure other countries to change their domestic policies as long as they do not oppose U.S. interests. Economic aid should be used to advance U.S. trade and investment in the former Soviet bloc and the developing world.

Costs: This Future will require us to maintain high levels of military spending to remain the world's superpower. If other nations reduce their military spending, we may in turn be able to cut our defense budget.

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Future 2 is based on the following beliefs

- The United States, like most other countries, benefits from stability. Efforts to fundamentally change the international system inevitably backfire, resulting in disorder and conflict. Protecting ourselves and our interests must be our primary focus.
- In a world defined by the law of the jungle, international stability and security depend largely on the United States. More than any other country, the United States has the strength to keep power-hungry nations in check and bring stability to volatile regions.
- U.S. interests often require that we maintain friendly relations with undemocratic governments, such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

SUPPORTERS SAY:

1. U.S. involvement in areas of tension, such as the Middle East and the Korean peninsula, will contribute to a stable balance of power and reduce the possibility of war. As a result, countries will be less likely to seek to acquire nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

2. A forceful U.S. presence in international affairs will discourage emerging powers, such as China, from building up their military might and expanding their influence at the expense of their neighbors.

3. Maintaining our long-standing military alliances in Western Europe and East Asia will help protect U.S. interests and put today's shaky international system on firm ground.

4. By keeping human rights issues from interfering with our business interests, the United States will gain new markets for our products and enjoy access to the raw materials critical to our economic prosperity.

CRITICS SAY:

1. Maintaining our alliances with cruel dictators sets back the cause of human rights and the worldwide movement toward democracy.

2. Acting without regard for other nations' interests and cultures breeds resentment against the United States that could lead to an angry backlash against us, risking international violence and undermining international cooperation on critical global issues such as controlling nuclear weapons and cleaning up pollution.

3. Staying out of conflicts until the fighting has ended will mean turning our back on future incidents of genocide and "ethnic cleansing," as was the case in Rwanda and Bosnia.

4. As World War I showed, balance-of-power schemes eventually collapse like a house of cards. If we had not armed Iraq in the 1980s to keep Iran in check, Saddam Hussein would not have emerged as a regional menace.

Future 3

Build a More Cooperative World

We live in an interdependent and interconnected world. The security of countries around the world is threatened by international terrorism. Environmental problems, such as global warming and ozone depletion, threaten the ecology of the entire planet. Financial panic spreads like wildfire with the speed of the Internet. Political upheaval in the Caribbean and the former Soviet bloc sends waves of refugees to U.S. shores. National boundaries do little to halt the spread of AIDS, international drug trafficking, terrorism, and other global scourges. In an age when new breakthroughs in communication and transportation are making our planet smaller, we cannot separate U.S. problems from the problems affecting the world as a whole.

We must take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together to work collaboratively. The United Nations (UN) should be granted more responsibility to deal with international security, environmental pollution, financial crises, refugees, AIDS, and other global problems. As the world's most powerful country, we must be willing to give up a portion of our independent authority, or sovereignty, to the UN. In addition, the United States should join with Japan, Western Europe, and other wealthy allies to help the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America lift themselves out of poverty. Instead of trying to police the world ourselves, we should use military force outside of North America only under UN leadership. Building a more cooperative world will not be easy. In the end, however, we must recognize that our fate as Americans is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. On our shrinking planet, there is nowhere to hide from the global challenges of the future.

What do we have to do?

We should consult with other nations as we chart our foreign policy. Whenever possible, we should act not on our own but as part of a coordinated international effort. We should increase our financial support for the UN and contribute to UN efforts to maintain global peace, fight terrorism, address humanitarian crises, and enforce sanctions against countries that violate the standards of the international community.

Militarily, we should not send our troops to fight outside of North America without the approval of the fifteen-nation UN Security Council. (As permanent members on the council, the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China each have veto power over the council's decisions.) We should increase cooperation with other nations' military forces as we work toward establishing a permanent UN military force ready to bring peace to troubled areas. This will allow us to scale back our own military expenditures. Finally, the United States should lead a worldwide effort to reduce arms exports.

Economically, we should spearhead international efforts to improve economic and environmental conditions in the developing world, the Middle East, and the former Soviet bloc. In exchange for cooperation on environmental issues, we should forgive the billions of dollars in debt that are owed us by poor countries. We should also take the lead in setting up international regulations to protect developing economies from the ups and downs of the global financial system. In accordance with UN recommendations, we should earmark 0.7 percent of our gross domestic product (about $70 billion in 2001) for economic assistance. Rather than using aid to pursue narrow foreign policy gains, international organizations should be responsible for spending the bulk of U.S. funding.

Costs: As we move toward a permanent UN military force, we will be able to reduce the resources we devote to our military. Most of the money saved will be earmarked for international economic assistance projects and for funding our share of the UN force.

Future 3 is based on the following beliefs

- We live in an interdependent world. If humanity is to have a hopeful future, we must work cooperatively to address global problems that affect us all, such as international terrorism, the destruction of tropical rain forests, refugee crises, deadly epidemics, and nuclear proliferation.
- U.S. problems are global problems, and they can only be solved through global cooperation. Trying to deal with terrorism, AIDS, and other international challenges without the involvement of all nations will be impossible.
- Cooperating globally is only fair. The earth does not belong to us. Americans comprise less than 5 percent of the world's population, and the United States is but one of nearly 200 countries in the world. As such, our country does not have the right to dominate the rest of the world.

Supporters say:

1. Giving more power and authority to international organizations does not make us powerless. On the contrary, individual nations are already powerless to cope with a growing range of global problems. By bringing nations together to solve common problems, we will gain the strength to deal with the challenges of tomorrow's world.

2. By working through international organizations, the United States will change the nature of the international system. Cooperation, not conflict, will come to be accepted as the basis for international relations.

3. The economic assistance we gave Western Europe and Japan after World War II helped boost international trade and strengthen the U.S. economy. Aiding the countries of the developing world and the former Soviet bloc will likewise benefit the United States in the long run.

4. Strengthening the UN and other international institutions will help firmly anchor Russia, China, and other unpredictable powers in a setting of cooperation and responsible behavior.

Critics say:

1. By handing over power to international organizations, we will lose much of our international influence. China, Japan, Russia, and other leading powers will take advantage of our cooperative spirit to make themselves stronger at our expense.

2. Reducing our ability to use military force outside of North America will severely limit our flexibility in defending ourselves and responding to international events and will encourage our enemies to defy us.

3. Many countries are run by corrupt and cruel governments. Strengthening international organizations in which thieves and tyrants have a voice and giving them more foreign aid will only make such regimes stronger.

4. Spending billions of dollars trying to solve the world's ills will deprive us of the resources we need to address the many problems we face at home.

Future 4

Turn Inward

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia. We have distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. Economically, we have stood for the principles of free trade, and have opened the American market to exports from countries that follow unfair trade practices. And what do we have to show for our efforts? Our meddling in other parts of the world has made us enemies who are intent on doing us harm. Even many of our supposed friends are quick to blame the United States for their own shortcomings and weaknesses. Much of the foreign aid we have given has been squandered on ungrateful Third World tyrants. Finally, our economic competitors have exploited our commitment to free trade to saddle us with chronic trade deficits. Enough is enough. Our high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us, and the consequences for our security and economy have been severe. It is time to turn our national attention to the real threats facing Americans: a sagging economy, loss of jobs, decaying schools, a shaky healthcare system, and inadequate resources to protect against terrorism.

We must sharply scale back our foreign involvement. U.S. troops overseas should be brought home and strict limits put on military spending. We will still have plenty of firepower to defend North America and protect Americans abroad, but we should no longer sacrifice our future and risk making enemies to maintain our status as a military superpower. Foreign aid should be eliminated other than for humanitarian emergencies. The hundreds of billions of dollars we save should be used to address pressing national problems. Let the rest of the world learn from our example instead of depending on our generosity. As Americans, we have to put our own needs first.

What do we have to do?

We should cut our military and political ties overseas and refocus our attention on domestic problems. We would not be turning our back on the rest of the planet. Rather, we would be avoiding future conflicts and making it clear that the United States can no longer be counted on to solve the world's problems.

Militarily, we should gradually phase out our alliances outside of North America. We should make it clear that we will join other countries militarily only when our security is directly threatened. We should redesign our armed forces to focus on defending North America. In addition, a specialized force should be trained to respond around the world when American lives are at stake (for example, during a hostage crisis, or to evacuate Americans in danger). These steps will allow the United States to address our real security needs.

Economically, we should protect American industries from unfair foreign competition. U.S. trade policy should be driven strictly by American economic interests, not by idealistic foreign policy goals to promote global harmony or bolster democracy. Let other nations determine their own economic policies. The United States should take a firmer stance in negotiations with our trading partners. We should work to substantially reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

Costs: This Future will allow us to reduce our spending for the military and international operations. We will redirect our resources toward addressing our domestic needs.

Future 4 is based on the following beliefs

- Most of the problems afflicting the world beyond U.S. borders cannot be solved by the United States, and meddling overseas will make us more enemies than friends. Rather, U.S. leaders should strive to ensure that the misery and poverty common to most of the planet do not overtake the United States.

- International power and influence in today's world are measured in terms of economic strength, not military might. In the global struggle for economic competitiveness, the United States cannot afford to be hampered by outmoded foreign policy priorities. In this contest, the military and foreign entanglements that the United States built up during the Cold War are a burden on our country.

- By turning our focus to within our own borders, the U.S. will shore up its own national security and reduce threats from overseas. Furthermore, we can address the real challenges facing our nation, those here at home.

SUPPORTERS SAY:

1. By not interfering in other parts of the world where our presence may not be welcome, we will avoid getting ourselves into unnecessary conflicts or making ourselves the target of resentment.

2. Eliminating costly and ill-conceived foreign policy ventures—such as promoting democracy in the former Soviet bloc or lifting sub-Saharan Africa out of poverty—will free up resources needed within our own borders.

3. By giving top priority to our domestic problems, we will be in a much better position to serve as a model for other countries.

4. Sharply cutting U.S. military spending will encourage other leading powers to reduce their spending on defense and will lower tensions worldwide.

CRITICS SAY:

1. Pulling our troops out of Western Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia will upset the worldwide balance of power and spark wars. In response, insecure countries will seek to acquire nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

2. Deeply cutting our military power will leave the United States incapable of standing up for democracy or protecting our security and economic interests. As in World War II, the United States will eventually be forced to undertake a costly military build-up to combat threats from overseas.

3. Pretending that the fate of the rest of the world matters little is foolish and dangerous. International terrorism can threaten any country at any time. And if a country such as Russia, with its frightful arsenal of nuclear weapons and huge reserves of raw materials, tilts in the wrong direction, the United States will pay a terrible price.

4. The Persian Gulf War showed us that economic sanctions have their limits, and that military strength is still a decisive factor in shaping the world. If we sharply cut our military spending, we will be unable to defeat the next evil tyrant that crosses us.

Supplementary Resources

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999). 394 pages.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998). 368 pages

Ignatieff, Michael. *The Warrior's Honor : Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998). 224 pages.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Ideas that Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-first Century,* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002). 512 pages.

Nye, Joseph. *The Paradox of Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). 240 pages.

World-Wide Web

Foreign Affairs (http://www.foreignaffairs.org/)
a leading main-stream publication on international affairs topics.

Terrorism Question and Answers (http://www.terrorismanswers.org/home/)
a Council of Foreign Relations website that offers questions and answers about issues related to September 11, 2001.

United Nations (http://www.un.org/)
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